The Alleged American Revolution *Samuel McCracken*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

A Journal of Politics and the Arts – September 25, 1971, 50 cents

Dead End at Attica

The Editors

Sharing Responsibility for War

Alexander M. Bickel

Who's Making It in Mexico?

Melville J. Ulmer

Tempering the Open School Fad

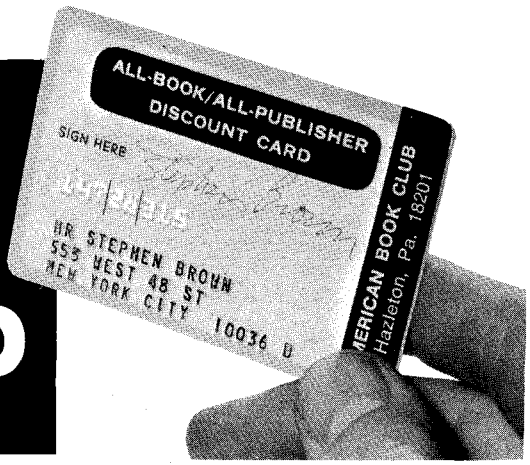
Joseph Featherstone

NR BLD7 C009 1 197
BALDWN WLCE COLL
RITTER LIB PRD
BEREA OHIO 44017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Announcing America's first (and only)

ALL-BOOK/ ALL-PUBLISHER DISCOUNT CARD



***Not available from dealers, wholesalers, retail book establishments or their representatives or sales agents.**

- **COMPUTER REGISTERED** *in bearer's name for life (or until deregistration is requested).*
- **ENTITLES BEARER** *to purchase from us at full card discounts any book in print sold in any bookstore in the United States or its Territories or listed anywhere in the American Book Club CATALOG & GUIDE TO U.S. PUBLISHERS. (See Footnote 1 for Cardholder's discounts.)*
- **THIS DISCOUNT PRIVILEGE INCLUDES** *all best sellers such as* Passions of the Mind, The Female Eunuch, America Inc., The Sensuous Man, Future Shock, Boss, OB VII, On Instructions of My Government, The Drifters, The Bell Jar, The New Centurions, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee, etc.; *as well as all other categories sold in bookstores including: all fiction and non-fiction, all cookbooks, all scientific and technical books, all political, historical, business and financial, biographical, religious, philosophical, art, even reference works, unabridged dictionaries, encyclopedia sets, and professional books.* No exclusions.
- **THIS DISCOUNT PRIVILEGE ALSO INCLUDES** *books of all major publishers sold in bookstores, such as Random House, Knopf, Doubleday, Harper & Row, Simon & Shuster, Harvard University Press, Grove Press, etc.; even rare or "specialist" houses.* No exclusions.
- **ACCEPTING THIS CARD** *involves absolutely no obligation or commitment to purchase anything, at any time, for any reason.*
- **COMPLETE COST** *of the ALL-BOOK/ALL-PUBLISHER DISCOUNT CARD, with full privileges, is $5. This one-time Registration Fee is good for life, and you need never renew. (See Footnote 2.)*

HOW TO ORDER AT FULL CARD DISCOUNTS

Simply look up selection(s) in either the ABC CATALOG & GUIDE TO U.S. PUBLISHERS (provided free with Card; see description below) or the PUBLISHERS DISCOUNT OPTION LIST (mailed to you regularly as ready). If there, note the order-number beside each book or LP record album.

Or, you may prefer to order a book currently offered by some *other* book club (that, too, is perfectly all right). Or feel free to request *any* book sold in bookstores, whether you have seen it on the shelf or reviewed or advertised in any publication. Then – simply send in your order.

HOW MUCH YOU SAVE IN DOLLARS AND CENTS

A survey has shown that card discounts have averaged almost 40% off list or original publishers' prices. Remember, this is an *average* – many discounts are much, much higher, as shown in chart below. (See Footnote 4.)

Here are some typical orders processed by our IBM/360-S computers. (No comment, criticism or endorsement of any book, publisher or author implied or intended. Prices subject to change.)

Title	Orig. Pub. Price	Card Price
1. AMERICAN HERITAGE DICT.	$ 8.95	$ 6.93
2. THE FEMALE EUNUCH	6.95	5.59
3. THE NEW WEBSTER ENCYCLOPEDIC DICT. OF THE ENGLISH LANG.‡	39.95	9.94
5. THE SENSUOUS MAN	6.00	4.83
6. LAROUSSE ENCYCL. OF MYTHOLOGY‡	17.95	9.89
7. FINE ART OF CHINESE COOKING‡	4.00	1.98
8. BIRDS OF PREY OF THE WORLD‡	25.00	9.93
9. FUNK & WAGNALL NEW STD. ENCYCL., 3 boxed vols, unabridged	59.95	15.79
11. THE BELL JAR	6.95	5.59
12. TREASURY OF WITCHCRAFT‡	10.00	2.98
13. DICTIONARY OF ECOLOGY‡	10.00	4.98
14. PICTURE BOOK OF SEXUAL LOVE: A Photographic Guide	15.00	9.94

(cont'd top of next col.)

	Comp. value*	Card Price
4. COMPLETE PIANO MUSIC OF BEETHOVEN, 21 stereo LPs, boxed	100.00	19.89
10. COMPLETE ORGAN MUSIC OF BACH, 18 stereo LPs, boxed	90.00	19.94
22. COMPLETE SYMPHONIES OF MOZART, 15 stereo LPs, boxed	75.00	19.95

15. JAMES BEARD'S OUTDOOR COOKBOOK‡	12.50	6.95
16. OXFORD ENGLISH DICT., 13 vols, unabridged	300.00	239.96
17. GROVE'S DICT. OF MUSIC & MUSICIANS, 10 vols, unabridged	60.00	43.77
18. ENCYCL. OF ASTROLOGY	10.00	4.98
19. COMPLETE ILLUS. BOOK OF YOGA‡	10.00	3.95
20. FUTURE SHOCK	8.95	7.19
21. THE NEW ENGLISH BIBLE	8.95	6.98

Comp. value of boxed sets calculated by adding together records of comparable quality, purchased unboxed.

‡Orig. pub. price may not be current retail price.

FOOTNOTE 1 – ABC CATALOG & GUIDE TO U.S. PUBLISHERS is sent free with your Card. 75% of all titles in CATALOG offered at discounts of 40% or more off list or orig. pub. price. Even books not listed in CATALOG but sold in bookstores may be purchased at discounts of at least 10% provided they are still *in print*. At additional cost, if you so desire: You are also entitled to request "BOOKS & BOOKMEN," the British Book Guide (not an ABC publication) and order any British books in print sold in any London bookstore, as well as obtain price quotations and bibliographic searches for research and scholarly purposes.

FOOTNOTE 2 – Cardholders may amortize their $5 Registration Fee from savings on their first order alone. (N.B. It actually costs ABC more than this small fee to defray cost of respondent materials, acquisition, and programming your name and order-number into Computer Control Center of IBM/360-S computers which can store over 1½ BILLION characters of information, scan and process book orders at rate of TWO MILLION CHARACTERS PER MINUTE. Currently servicing orders for more than 200,000 booklovers, it is the only such facility of its kind in existence.)

FOOTNOTE 3 – Cardholders ordering new books receive only genuine publishers editions. (Conventional book clubs often print up special "club editions"– i.e., economy printings using cheaper paper, smaller type, flimsier bindings. Our discounts are not achieved in this way. All current books are brand new and bindery fresh – the same item selling for full price in the "bookstore around the corner".) On reprints of older or rare books, we offer only the finest editions available.

FOOTNOTE 4 – Discounts stated exclusive of postage and handling. We don't surprise you with any "hidden" charges. Postage and handling is a pleasantly low (below cost) 40¢ per item. Period.

HOW THESE LARGE DISCOUNTS ARE ACHIEVED

Your orders need not pass through a conventional bookstore. Our Computer Control Center not only helps slash normal retail bookstore markups but also "mediates" in substantial savings through large-volume purchases direct from publishers' stocks, as well as through special imports, reprints and remainders. Resultant savings are passed on to Cardholders as in table above and via ABC CATALOG and the PUBLISHERS DISCOUNT OPTION LIST. (See Footnote 3.)

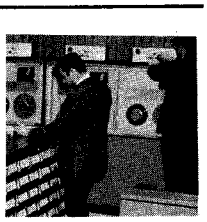
YOU MUST BE SATISFIED OR MONEY REFUNDED

If for any reason you feel your card is not as valuable as we have led you to believe (or even if you have simply changed your mind), you are free to return it within 10 days for a full refund of your Registration Fee. (Please tear card in half before returning.) Naturally, any book you purchase with your card must satisfy you completely or you may return it for a full refund

To apply for an ALL-BOOK/ALL-PUBLISHER DISCOUNT CARD, complete and mail the form below. (Should your application not be approved, your Registration Fee will be returned to you.) Mail to: ALL-BOOK/ALL-PUBLISHER DISCOUNT CARD, American Book Club, Hazelton, Pa. 18201.

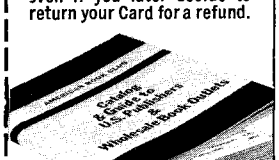
COMPUTER CONTROL CENTER

Currently serving 200,000 booklovers, it bypasses conventional retail bookstores. Shares savings of direct-from-publisher ordering with Cardholders through CATALOG & GUIDE TO U.S. PUBLISHERS and PUBLISHERS DISCOUNT OPTION LIST (mailed to you regularly as ready). Also permits Cardholders (if they wish) to order any British books in print for additional service charge.



FREE WITH YOUR CARD

ABC CATALOG & GUIDE TO U.S. PUBLISHERS (unobtainable outside book trade except for Cardholders) includes all subject categories: bestsellers, fiction and non-fiction, reference works, encyclopedias, unabridged dictionaries, multi-volume sets, publisher specials, remainders, imports, options, etc. 75% of titles in CATALOG offered you at 40% or more BELOW list or orig. pub. price. CATALOG remains yours free, without obligation, even if you later decide to return your Card for a refund.



APPLICATION FORM

Mail to: **ALL-BOOK/ALL-PUBLISHER DISCOUNT CARD** 269-A
American Book Club, Hazleton, Pa. 18201

Please send a registered ALL-BOOK/ALL-PUBLISHER DISCOUNT CARD in my name. Also forward ABC CATALOG & GUIDE TO U.S. PUBLISHERS (free of extra charge) and mail me regular PUBLISHERS DISCOUNT OPTION LISTS as ready. I understand that accepting this Card does not obligate me to buy anything. But it does entitle me to full discount privileges on all books in print as described above, plus a small charge for postage and handling. Enclosed is my one-time Registration Fee of only $5 – good for life. If not satisfied I may return Card within 10 days for a full refund of Registration Fee. But CATALOG will be mine to keep free, whether I decide to remain a Cardholder or not.

☐ My $5 fee encl. or ☐ Chge. My Master Chge. #_____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

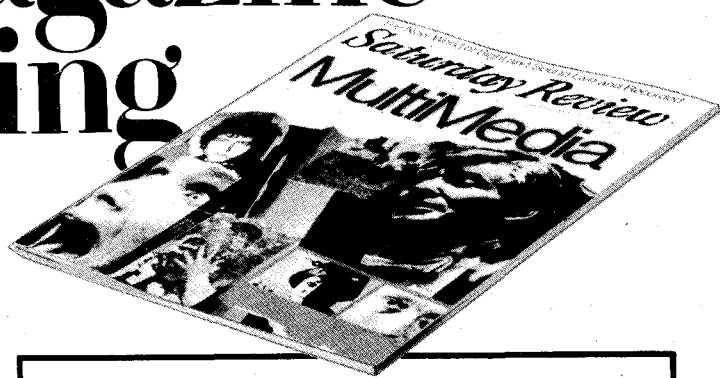
____ Initial here if you intend to re-sell books purchased with card at higher price. (For statistical purposes only. Membership not limited.)

• *If your card is lost or stolen please notify American Book Club at above address without delay.*

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $12, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage at Washington, D.C. and a additional mailing offices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Grow with the magazine that is growing too!



What's new in today's Saturday Review?

Everything that's new in today's world . . . and your own world of interests.

Take MultiMedia for example — the exciting new world of sight and sound. Where every home TV set can become a center for the performing arts and a classroom for continuing education.

MultiMedia — once a dream — will soon become a reality in homes all over America. It's *already* a reality in Saturday Review.

Under the editorship of Irving Kolodin, SR's new MultiMedia supplement covers the new technology of video recordings . . . reports on the trends and events, the performers and performances that are shaping the electronic future of the performing arts. In live as well as recorded film, theater, opera, concert and recital stage, ballet, jazz, etc.

Or take the Environment.

Saturday Review has been writing and warning about the ecological crisis since the end of World War II.

Now, in another recently-inaugurated monthly supplement, "Environment and the Quality of Life," Saturday Review brings together leading experts to discuss, dissect, and offer positive solutions for every kind of environmental problem threatening our planet.

A magazine for today . . . and today's busy reader

Saturday Review is America's thought-weekly . . . covering timely, relevant topics that affect our lives and our futures. The magazine is edited for *people whose time is limited but whose interests are not.* Articles are by leading authorities in all fields. A few examples:

The Dossier Invades the Home by Ralph Nader
Mercury: How Much Are We Eating? by Peter and Katherine Montague
The Sexes: Getting It All Together by Faubion Bowers
Fiction as a Social Gathering by Alfred Kazin
The Alternative to Schooling by Ivan Illich
Stravinsky and the Century by Pierre Boulez
The Failure of Federal Gun Control by Carl Bakal
Inflation: The Dangerous Sedative by Courtney C. Brown
Toward a Military Welfare State? by Norman Cousins

Now—twelve magazines for the price of one!

- **U.S. and World Affairs**
- **Environment**
- **Education**
- **Communications**
- **MultiMedia, Music, and Recordings**
- **Travel**
- **Books**
- **TV-Radio**
- **Business and Economics**
- **Theater**
- **Art**
- **Movies**

. . . plus coverage of science, dance, photography . . . a variety of regular columns, features, and puzzles . . . more—and funnier—cartoons than ever before . . . and one of the most vigorous and influential editorial pages in America.

Saturday Review has changed throughout the years . . . continues to change from issue to issue. Seems there's a new and important SR feature every time you turn around. Or turn a page. The magazine and its editors reflect the impact of new ideas, new achievements, new challenges, new personalities. *The result: a lively magazine that sparks thought, conversation, and action week after week for more than two million readers.*

As Saturday Review continues to broaden its coverage, your own horizons will expand . . . your interests will widen as you grow with the magazine that is growing too.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER
FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS ONLY

34 ISSUES ONLY 3.97

(A $17.00 newsstand value; regularly $7.85 by subscription)

Money-Back Guarantee: If Saturday Review isn't all you expect, you may cancel your subscription *at any time* and receive a *full refund.* Not the usual refund on unmailed copies, but your money back in full.

Use the convenient, postage-free card to start Saturday Review coming to you each week. Without risk. And with food for thought, ideas for action in every issue.

Saturday Review

THE THOUGHT-WEEKLY
380 Madison Avenue New York, N.Y. 10017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

. . . since the days of quilting bees, kerosene lamps, and horsedrawn plows.

Today's farmer relies on computer forecasts, genetic and nutrition studies, sophisticated machinery, electric power—combined with a love of the land and a determined pioneer spirit—to help him set our tables with an unequalled variety and quality of food.

He's a good scientist-engineer-economist-businessman . . . with a dash of philosopher thrown in. He has to be. While his operating costs continue to soar, many of his products bring him no higher prices than 20 years ago. He's caught up in an exhausting struggle to survive by cutting costs and increasing yields. Now, he produces enough food and fiber for 45 people—two decades ago it was only 14.

The people of America's nearly 1,000 consumer-owned rural electric systems, which serve the majority of our nation's farms, recognize that—as city and country grow more and more interdependent—the farmer's role becomes ever more vital.

The people of America's rural electric systems know that in a progressive, changing world, some things are worth saving. Like an heirloom quilt. Like the family farm.

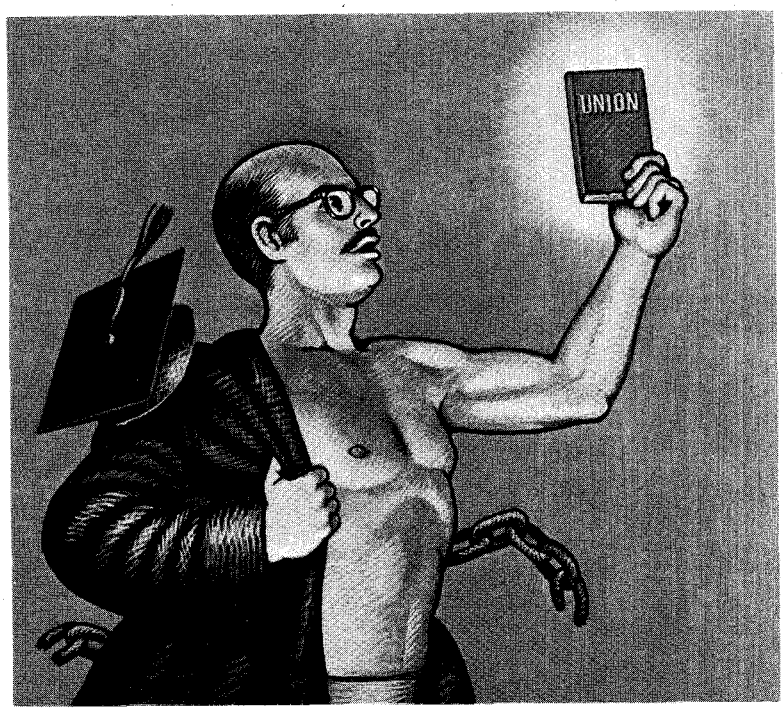
We Care . . . We're Consumer-Owned

AMERICA'S RURAL ELECTRIC SYSTEMS

Members of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association / 2000 Florida Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It's all in this month's Harper's



Professors Unite: Organize Or Perish

In college and university faculty rooms these days, the talk is as much AFL-CIO as it is MA's and PhD's.

Angry academics, with nothing to lose but their status, are extending a warm welcome to union organizers.

For the two rival unions the stakes are enormous, both in prestige and potential annual dues of over $100 million.

The result, almost certainly, will bring profound and revolutionary changes in higher education.

For the full report on the most important educational development in this decade, read the current issue of Harper's. Every issue of Harper's brings you opinion, information and entertainment. Get into the Harper's habit now, and save half.

Quick! Name the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.

President Nixon's sudden reversal of China policy dramatically elevates the importance of the coming UN session, and the man in charge. George Bush, a rare combination of Connecticut Yankee and Texas oil millionaire, by luck, may be the right man in the right place.

Rebellious Priests V. Reluctant Bishops

For liberal U.S. Catholics, the promise of the Second Vatican Council has not been fulfilled. Militant priests and nuns accuse the bishops of being reluctant to challenge conservative Rome. The lid's ready to blow.

Suburban Government: You Can't Fight It

Explosive growth, gerrymandering, archaic political structures make the simplest political action impossible in the suburbs. The fight for a single traffic light in Port Washington, L.I., illuminates the problem.

Grand Funk Railroad

Richard Goldstein, an aging and mellowing rock critic (now approaching thirty), can no longer evade the fact that rock is only for the young. And, among the major groups, only Grand Funk Railroad knows where the young are at.

Ecology: More For The Haves Than The Have-Nots

Are the elitist and arrogant leaders of the movement blinding us to the needs of the world's poor and hungry?

Iowa: The Other Side Of The Corn

A provincial easterner discovers the unexpected joys of Iowa, where art, music, and The Writers Workshop flourish in clean air, clean streets, and a remarkably crime-free climate.

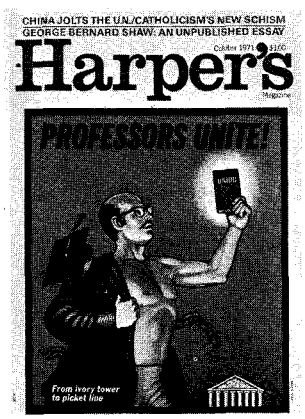
And More...

An unpublished essay by ***George Bernard Shaw*** advances a beguiling and relevant argument for socialism; a brilliant new story by ***Jorge Luis Borges;*** verse by ***Richard Brautigan; Charlton Ogburn's*** modest proposal for saving the car-choked cities; ***Jack Richardson's*** imaginary defense of a man who faithfully followed every political and social fashion of his time; and from his easy chair, ***John Fischer*** proves there is some good news if you look hard enough.

Every issue, America's first monthly magazine brings you opinion, information, entertainment and excitement. Get into the Harper's habit now, and save half.

8 Months Of Harper's Magazine. Half Price.

048


CHINA JOLTS THE U.N./CATHOLICISM'S NEW SCHISM
GEORGE BERNARD SHAW: AN UNPUBLISHED ESSAY
Harper's
PROFESSORS UNITE!
From ivory tower to picket line

Fill out and mail today to Harper's Magazine at 2 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Send me the next 8 months of Harper's for only $2.84. That's half the regular subscription price and $5.16 off the newsstand price.

☐ Double my savings. Send 16 months for only $5.68.

☐ Payment Enclosed ☐ Bill me

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington ®

Race Against Time

The Supreme Court will reassemble here October 4 and it is probable that before President Nixon's term is over in the next 15 months he will appoint a new conservative Justice with consequences momentous to the United States. Of the nine present members Justice Harlan, 72, has bad vision; Justice Douglas, 72, has a heart-pacer; Justice Black, 85, has been in the hospital since last month with no reason ascribed.

Mr. Nixon has already tipped the court's balance from what has been described as a 5-to-4 liberalism to a 5-to-4 conservatism, by naming conservatives Burger and Blackmun to replace liberals Warren and Fortas. Of course, the cleavage isn't as sharp as that, for justices may be "liberal" on one issue and "conservative" on another, but the movement over to the conservative side is fairly marked.

There has also been a tendency to fragmentation, for Chief Justice Burger lacks the hearty, persuasive way of his predecessor, the great Chief Justice Warren, and inclines to be testy and dogmatic. Burger and Blackmun, "the Minnesota twins," line up together, generally, on the right, frequently joined by Harlan and Stewart; on the other side are Douglas, Brennan and Marshall (the only Negro member), the hard core of the old liberal group; and in between are White and Black, the latter once a leading liberal but now moved more and more to the other side.

The gruesome Attica, New York, prison massacre is bound to inflame public passions with unknown results but a possible ultimate tendency to strengthen a tough national mood toward criminals. This tendency is probably as fixed a point in President Nixon's thinking as he has and equals in intensity his detestation of chiselers on welfare who violate the "work ethic." In the 1968 campaign he blamed the rise of crime on judges who "coddled" prisoners, not excluding the Supreme Court. Attorney General Mitchell has been playing a little game of his own since then, trying to argue that crime is diminishing and that Mr. Nixon has "swept fear from the city streets." It isn't diminishing; serious crimes were up 11 percent in 1970 over the year before according to FBI statistics. But never mind that, Mitchell will have his say and the crime issue will be a big one in 1972.

The Senate is bound to scrutinize any new appointee from Mr. Nixon jealously. Before Mr. Nixon got his two winners, Burger and Blackmun, he lost out with Haynsworth (45-55) and Carswell (45-51), the first time the Senate had handed a President a double rejection since Grover Cleveland. Mr. Nixon's relationship to the law and the courts has been unusual. His chief adviser is hard-line Attorney General Mitchell, who picked Haynsworth and Carswell.

Thus on the Carswell appointment Mr. Nixon argued that "what is centrally at issue . . . is the constitutional responsibility" of the President to make the choice, and "whether this responsibility can be frustrated by those who wish to substitute their own philosophy . . . [for that of the] one man entrusted by the Constitution with the power of appointment." This is pretty silly. The Senate always has the power to "frustrate" the appointment. Fifteen presidents have seen 24 of their nominees rejected out of some 125 made.

Mr. Nixon took an equally odd position after Carswell's rejection. Waiting 24 hours, after consulting Mitchell and speaking with restrained irritation, he declared that he had "reluctantly" come to the conclusion that the Senate "as presently constituted" would not confirm a judicial conservative from the South. This was preposterous: Mitchell's Justice Department had done a poor job of research for a second time and the nominee was rejected not because he came from the South, or was a conservative, but because of inadequacies in his career, a judgment shared by 13 tortured Republicans who voted against him.

The President also takes the unusual view, voiced for him by Mitchell, that his "inherent power" can be stretched to a point that almost anybody's conversation may be bugged and wiretapped by the Justice Department. Mitchell also argued that he can authorize a search and seizure, without approval of a magistrate, when he deemed it necessary in a situation involving national security. Fortunately, the Burger Court slapped him down in a New Hampshire case last June.

Mr. Nixon currently is at variance with the Court on two opinions which were unanimous. He wants to find a way around its refusal to allow federal aid to parochial schools, and he objects to the use of busing as an aid to school desegregation.

It is in the field of criminal law, however, where the break between the Burger and the Warren court is most noticeable and where the appointment of a new conservative member might be most decisive. In the famous 5-to-4 *Miranda* decision (1966), the Warren court put safeguards around criminal defendants, saying that confessions obtained without informing them of their rights must be excluded. This did little more than to give to the poor and ignorant what the well-heeled and sophisticated had all along, but it was charged that it handcuffed the police, and a majority of the Burger court has been whittling it down by diminishing the so-called "exclusionary rule." Over the centuries courts erected safeguards to exclude evidence got illegally, tricks and torture say; thus, the material gathered by an illegal search is inadmissible no matter what it discloses.

The Justice Department is out to change that. Last week it asked a Senate subcommittee for legislation to modify all or part of the rule which prevents the use of evidence obtained in violation of a defendant's constitutional rights. It would ban appeals based on claims of unlawful search and seizure. Its tough package would also allow juries to convict without a unanimous vote.

In another connection last June Justices Burger, Blackmun and Harlan held against the press in the melodramatic 6-to-3 decision on the Pentagon Papers. If Harlan were replaced by another Nixon conservative the line-up on the court would remain about the same. But that wouldn't be true if Douglas or Black quit.

The most important single thing that bumbling Gen. Eisenhower did as President was to pick Earl Warren as Chief Justice. Now in the fluid '70s, Mr. Nixon's next appointment to the great judicial and policymaking tribunal could be almost as important.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 165, No. 13, Issue 2961, September 25, 1971. Published weekly and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50¢. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302. Copyright 1971 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc. Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

9–13 Comment
Dead End at Attica, Drumfire on China, Public Employment, Rural & Urban Growth, Jackson's Splash

14 The Nixon Watch: Praggy Dick – *John Osborne*

15 Congress and the President: Sharing Responsibility for War – *Alexander M. Bickel*

17 Open Schools-II: Tempering a Fad – *Joseph Featherstone*

21 Who's Making It in Mexico? – *Melville J. Ulmer*

24 Films – *Stanley Kauffmann*

25 Books – Review by *Samuel McCracken*

28 Music: The Kennedy Center – *Robert Evett*

32 Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – David Sanford
Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore
Films and Theater – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editor – John Osborne
West Coast Editor – Peter Barnes
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors –
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Donald Canty, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Zalin B. Grant, Gerald W. Johnson, Melville J. Ulmer, Allen S. Whiting, Paul R. Wieck
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Staff Writers – Eliot Marshall, Daniel Zwerdling
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Lucy Samuelson
Business Manager – Pearl Wilmer Ramsey
Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams
20 West 43rd St., New York, N.Y. 10036

Dead End At Attica

Some people are in jail who ought not to be, and some aren't who should be, but the moral is not that inmates should be dealt with in the same equal-to-equal way as, say, rebellious students should be treated by college administrators. Convicts are not free men, though they are men, which is often dismissed as sentimentality. That having been said, the case for storming the Attica State Prison in New York last Monday by 1300 troopers, leaving 42 dead, is far from proved. Governor Rockefeller hopes it will be, for he believes there was no alternative to the order and no fault to be found with the manner in which it was carried out; one wonders why he thinks an investigation is necessary. It is necessary, of course, because the public has been shaken by the tragedy.

We do not need to wait for an investigation to discover why Rockefeller and the prison officials thought they had to do what they did. They told us in too great detail, to their later regret, within hours of the shootings: rebellious inmates had replied to an ultimatum by holding weapons to the throats of hostages; later, reporters were informed, five guards were found dead in their own blood, slashed by convicts; one convict was felled by a police marksman's sniper bullet an instant before he could slice a guard's throat; two guards were killed "the day before" the attack (rigor mortis had already set in and one of them had been castrated and stabbed again and again). "At that point, there was no other decision I could have made," said Corrections Commissioner Russell G. Oswald, who personally ordered the attack. The inmates had "forced a confrontation and carried out coldblooded killings," Governor Rockefeller said. To put it mildly, the last statement proved to be an exaggeration, but in the wild first moments, the authorities may not have known the truth. At any rate, the medical examiner who subsequently autopsied the dead hostages found that all the guards died from multiple gunshot wounds, not slashed throats, though there were signs of beatings. None was stabbed, although one suffered a slight knife wound on the back of his neck. (According to the coroner's office, however, four inmates did have their throats slashed.) The guards' death wounds were caused by "buckshot and high caliber missiles," and if the prisoners had guns, they couldn't have done that damage. No guard had been mutilated. Furthermore, although Oswald said that negotiations be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

came hopeless when one of the guards died after inmates had ruthlessly shoved him from a second-story window, he could not explain how that was accomplished since all the prison windows had bars.

The Attica uprising is important not only because it is one of the largest prison rebellions, but because the state immediately granted, under duress, 28 of 30 prisoner demands and admitted that the reforms were overdue. Commissioner Oswald now says he had had reforms in mind for some time, which does not raise the dead. Here is another instance where it is made to seem that to make reforms you have to make revolts.

Still, it was not this or that reform that basically concerned the officials. From the start, they viewed the rebellion in larger terms. "It threatened the security of the entire correctional facility of the state," even "the destruction of our free society," Oswald argued. In the very broadest sense, that is conceivable, though it is the sort of claim, as Walter Lippmann once wrote, "by which a bit of truth seems so marvelous that it is made to embrace the universe." Specifically, the inmates demanded such things as "less pork," "more fresh fruit," a minimum wage in the workshops, better recreational facilities and medical care, a more humane and tolerable life *in prison*. They appear to have asked for an end to censorship of reading materials, but made an exception of materials prison officials might consider threatening to "internal security." That some of the leaders were "revolutionaries" needs documentation. Certainly these demands we have mentioned were not revolutionary and were in fact granted. The sticking point was elsewhere.

What *was* nonnegotiable in the opinion of the authorities was the demand for amnesty from legal punishment for acts committed during the takeover. We do not see how that could ever have been granted, though from the prisoners' point of view, amnesty was the key. For of what value is more fresh fruit to a man who may later be condemned to death for acts during the uprising? Governor Rockefeller holds the opinion that he had no constitutional authority to grant amnesty, and that if he had had, he would not have used it. The first is a statement of law, the second a prudential judgment. On the whole, we think the governor's position on this matter is sensible, and for this reason: if you grant blanket amnesty you are saying that prison riots – whatever injury they inflict – cost nothing to those responsible. No prison can be run on that theory, and bad as they are and better as they should be, prisons cannot be done away with.

Has society the right ever to use force to put down a prison rebellion? It does have that right. But was it a right that had to be exercised at Attica, and if so, when and how? Whether the result would have been much different had state troops seized the prison two hours after the rebellion or two days later than they did, no one knows. Nor can anyone be sure whether the state could have regained control of the prison without bloodshed by extending the negotiations, but it might have and a personal appearance by Governor Rockefeller could have contributed to this end. By responding favorably to the plea of both inmates and hostages that he come to Attica, the least Mr. Rockefeller would have gained was time – and that is what the negotiators were fighting for.

Even if one accepts the judgment that no further talks would have produced a settlement respectful of the legitimate demands of the inmates and the legitimate authority of the state to run the prison and hold inmates accountable for crimes, it does not follow that what was done was best calculated to restore order and authority at minimum injury. What was to be lost by waiting out the rebels, starving them out if necessary. Nor is it only the pretended wisdom of hindsight that suggests that armed police and troops might have moved in quickly, but before firing, ordered the rebels to surrender. This is not the way it is done in a John Wayne movie, or in Vietnam, but should it not have been tried at Attica?

The official assumption throughout has been that Attica represented a symbolic confrontation between law and lawlessness, with implications for the future of prison discipline throughout America – and indeed, with implications for every community where the legal order is challenged by disruption. But will 42 deaths contribute to pacifying disrupters, frighten them into resignation, or make the daily life of prison guards (none of whom at Attica is black) more secure? We doubt it.

All these questions will be with us for a long time, unresolved. Serious crime rose 176 percent from 1960 to 1970, and today there are more in jail than live in Ft. Worth, Texas – about 400,000. Most of them are young, more and more of them black and desperate. Jails are not for nice people who can be entrusted to make their own rules, *à la* participatory democracy. But neither are prisoners animals to be caged, and that is how they are thought of and handled in many places. It is almost as if penal institutions were designed to confirm *society's* inhumanity; and it did not take the explosion at Attica to tell us that neither society nor the convicts are the beneficiaries of that.

To Our Readers

The New Republic announces the appointment of Allen S. Whiting as a contributing editor. A student of China for more than 25 years, Mr. Whiting is a professor of political science and an associate of the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Also this week Eliot Marshall and Daniel Zwerdling join this Journal as staff writers. Both are 1971 college graduates who have spent summers at the *NR* as interns. Mr. Marshall graduated from Harvard (cum laude) in English. A general studies major, Mr. Zwerdling attended the University of Michigan where he was an editor of the *Michigan Daily*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drumfire on China

It *is* a topsy-turvy world when Premier Chou En-lai rebukes James Reston for having said the President lacks courage: "Deciding to come to China at this time is something which even the opposition party says others dare not do. So on this point he has some courage." How much courage it will take has yet to be fully determined. The new China policy was roundly rejected by the AFL-CIO executive council, 24 to 4 with two abstentions, while the American Legion has given it grudging approval on the express condition that no concessions are made by our side.

Anyone who rejects political acts because of the possible motives behind them had better avoid politics altogether. No doubt the President was fully aware of the domestic gains in his announcement, although we can hardly believe that he thought they could outweigh the gut issue: the domestic economy. More to the point is Chou's remark. Nobody thought the old China lobby amounted to much anymore. But the White House needed no Geiger counter to alert it to hostile right-wing reaction. The Vice-President's celebrated midnight remarks last April against the first flush of "ping-pong diplomacy" provided the modern instant communications counterpart to Paul Revere's ride. Immediately after the trip announcement in July, twelve conservatives, headed by William F. Buckley, announced suspension of "support" for Nixon, and a few weeks ago delegates representing 67,000 Young Americans for Freedom voted to dump Nixon, in part because the trip will threaten "the national sovereignty of the United States." The antics of the Rev. Carl McIntyre with his Taiwan table tennis team raise little more than smiles from sophisticated infighters. But in Middle America confusion and concern can become bitter hatred if properly aroused. Toward this end various reactionary revivalists of the early 1950's witchhunt are once again on the conspiracy trail. This time they can move against the background of an admitted betrayer of secrets, Daniel Ellsberg, as compared with the earlier accused but unproven "traitor," Alger Hiss.

Recently a Detroit FM station carried four hours of telephone interviews with a young American scholar on China. The moderator claimed no other program had evoked so many responses. The angry callers seemed awakened from a 20-years' sleep, so obsessed were they by the McCarran hearings, the Institute of Pacific Relations, and alleged Communist affiliations of such personages as Professor John K. Fairbank and Henry Kissinger. But these long-dormant memories did not spontaneously spring to life; they are cultivated. Visitors to San Clemente heard first-hand of the "hate Henry" campaign that is being waged in many localities in an effort to embarrass the President's trip through his emissary.

Mr. Nixon need only recall his own past to appreciate the ignorance and fear that can be exploited against China. In this regard he faces a much tougher fight than did President Roosevelt in moving to recognize the Soviet Union in 1933. American business had built Russian factories. American journalists and tourists had traveled throughout that country. A positive subliminal image of Russia had established aesthetic and humanistic ties through intimate familiarity with Tchaikowsky and Rachmaninoff, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. The savagery of civil war and foreign intervention against the new Soviet state had been followed with the Hoover relief missions.

No such counterforce exists on the China question. The bitter heritage of two wars, Korea and Vietnam, fuses in American perceptions as the product of Chinese Communist aggression. Total isolation from the mainland for 20 years combines with the most remote and random newsreel images of the previous decades, broken only by the familiar figures of a sturdy little generalissimo and his striking Wellesley-educated wife.

New versions of old tales fuel opposition fires. On the day Senator Proxmire's Joint Economic Committee heard three prominent professors attack secret subversion against the mainland conducted jointly by the Chinese Nationalists and the CIA, Senator Eastland released a study by Professor Richard L. Walker which estimated that between 34 and 60 million Chinese died over the past 50 years as a result of Communist activity. Walker included all the intermittent civil wars of 1927-49 as well as wholly unsubstantiated and unverifiable figures from every kind of source, including Radio Moscow. Another hate-China theme focuses on drugs. A few days after the Eastland report came a headline-grabbing story from Saigon. According to an alleged "high-level defector" out of North Vietnam, poppy fields in that country are so large it takes a harvesting tractor one whole day to cover a single planting. The produce is secretly processed in China, he said, and smuggled out through Hong Kong. Interestingly the defector admitted he had not revealed this information when first interviewed a year ago, claiming it had not seemed important then. Its importance now was obvious since only the previous week, two detailed accounts – one by the Associated Press Pulitizer prize winner, Peter Arnett, and another in *The New York Times*, had traced the Asian drug traffic to specific villages on the Burma-Thai border. From there it moves over land and air routes to South Vietnam, with the certain knowledge if not connivance of Thai and South Vietnamese officials. No matter that the *Far Eastern Economic Review* states unequivocally that Hong Kong is not a conduit for drugs from mainland China, or that the US Narcotics Bureau lays no charge against the People's Republic of China, such as it does against Turkey, Iran and a host of other countries.

We see no evidence of an all-out US campaign at the UN to retain Taiwan's seat and thereby block

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Peking's entry. We liked the way Mr. Nixon kept his cool after Peking had blasted Secretary Rogers for the regrettably wrong but understandably politic two-China ploy. The President has some tough steps to take in Washington and Taipei if his trip is to succeed, but he deserves good marks for what he has done so far in refusing the Pentagon bid to move nuclear weapons storage from Okinawa to Taiwan and reportedly canceling clandestine ground probes into China by CIA-supported groups in Laos.

Public Employment

We are learning what "national sacrifice" the 90-day wage-price freeze imposes. The enforcement procedure for the hold on wages is effective and comprehensive, since every business concern is eager on patriotic and other grounds to assure that there are few violations. There is no such built-in enforcement – no inspecting or reporting mechanism – on price rises, and for profits there is not even a nominal freeze. Yet profits can be expected to flourish as sales volume increases, labor "overhead" declines, and productivity (average output per manhour) goes up. Recent and proposed cuts in business taxes will expedite this process. Meanwhile, professionals such as doctors, lawyers and accountants are virtually free to boost their fees, since the principal barriers to charging more are ones they put up voluntarily, out of a sense of fairness. Hence with profits and some other incomes at liberty to rise, and with many prices sneaking up too, a conclusion quite opposite to the President's seems inescapable: the "sacrifice" referred to by Mr. Nixon falls not on the "nation" but on the wage-earner.

According to the government's estimates, tax cuts recommended by the President will add $5.9 billion to the nation's purchasing power, most of which, however, would go to business. Suggested reductions in government spending (thus, in the nation's purchasing power) come to $4.7 billion. The difference between the two – $1.2 billion – is a bit more than a moon shot costs. Moreover, tax reductions don't, dollar for dollar, stimulate increases in spending. The net effect of reducing taxes and of public expenditures will be to divert resources *away* from the President's "great goals" of environmental improvement, mass transportation, better schools, medical care, urban and rural renewal and *to* the production of cars, swimming pools, deodorants, skimobiles.

Congress may expand and liberalize Mr. Nixon's proposed tax incentives and moderate his expenditure reduction, and this will bring temporary relief in the form of jobs to many unemployed. But the key word is temporary, for in the past the general rule has been: the closer to full employment, the more explosive the inflation. The inevitable correction for inflation has been a deliberately induced recession, so that one out of every three years since World War II has been marked by severe unemployment, and the other two out of three years were not all that good. Only in World War II itself, and briefly in the Korean War, did the economy hit the full-employment level. Now we move off on another swing of the inflation-unemployment seesaw, an upswing that should feel invigorating as the presidential campaign proceeds throughout the summer and fall of next year. But what of the downswing?

Some may interpose that we have overlooked the possible benign influence of wage and price control. We haven't. But if past experience is a reliable guide, so long as primary reliance is placed on the private sector, such controls do not suffice, and it is necessary to keep the economy to an inflationary pitch even to get down to a five percent unemployment rate, not to mention the two percent rate that would represent honest-to-goodness full employment.

The alternative implicit in this brief analysis is full employment by reliance on the public sector. Most of the five-and-one-half million unemployed today, to whom the President preaches the virtue of work – the blacks, the unskilled and many semi-skilled as well as space engineers, physicists and other technicians – would be absorbed in private business only under the most inflationary conditions. For most of them, there is no welcome mat in the private sector, given modern technology and the current structure of demand. But they can all be put to work directly and constructively in public employment, without overheating the economy.

The formula for stability is: first, increased government expenditures in public employment so that we can eliminate joblessness and achieve the "great goals" now, rather than in some distant future; second, increased taxes as the economy moves forward, by enough to ward off overheating the market for private goods and services. And to counter the role of monopoly in generating inflation, government should retain the authority and readiness to check or roll back particular prices, wages or other income as necessary.

Rural & Urban Growth

The call in the mid-'60s by Orville Freeman, whose fate was to serve as Secretary of Agriculture just as the nation was discovering that it had an urban crisis on its hands, for "urban-rural balance" in economic and population growth did not produce an overwhelming

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

response, but a seed had been planted. The seed was nourished in 1968 by the ad-hoc National Committee on Urban Growth Policy. The legislation it subsequently spawned (Title VII of the 1970 Housing Act) mandates the administration to produce a report on national urban growth policy early next year, and the version proposed by the Domestic Council of the White House is hell-bent for "balance," calling for a major shift of federal funding from large metropolitan areas to small cities and towns – a shift congenial to an administration that has strong electoral ties to Main Street. Even in advance of its full-scale policy report, the administration has so structured its special revenue-sharing proposals to give nonmetropolitan communities a double scoop of benefits.

The recent formation of a Coalition for Rural America attests to the growing influence of this movement for balanced growth. The Coalition asks that, in the words of Title VII, "the highest priority . . . be given to the revitalization and development of rural areas." This plea is based on the needs of the cities as well: "Many of the nation's urban problems stem from mass migration from rural areas into the cities, particularly of low-income, low-skilled persons." Less explicit in the rhetoric of "balance," from Freeman's time onward, has been the subtheme that, given a choice, no good American would want to live in a city.

All of this has great appeal, and also a potential for great peril.

The peril lies in diverting resources away from present need in the name of future "balance," which is precisely what the Domestic Council kind of balancing would do. In effect, it becomes an anti-urban growth policy, which can only deepen the disadvantagement of residents of large urban areas, already suffering under the disproportionate influence of rural interests in Congress and the statehouses.

Nor would it work. Any growth policy based on the premise that population density or concentration is the root of urban tension is doomed to failure. The densities of American cities are far below those of their less-troubled European counterparts and actually were declining at the time that the urban crisis erupted in civil disorder. Migration to the cities also is bound to decline now that the mechanization of agriculture, which prompted much of it, is all but complete.

The generators of crisis are qualitative, not quantitative. They have more to do with *how* growth occurs than where. They are matters of the maldistribution of resources and of the wasteful and divisive patterns of American urbanization; of keeping the poor poor, and keeping the poor and minorities in their places. Any policy that fails to deal with these matters and other qualitative aspects of growth will only result in the replication of crisis in the new growth centers, rural or otherwise.

Moreover, the idea that creation of such new centers will stem the growth of large urban areas is in part a delusion. It flies in the face of the nearly unanimous counsel of demographers and the negative experience of other industrialized nations. Not even Russia, with all of its centralized state powers, has been able to halt the growth of the Moscow area in four decades of trying.

Rural revitalization is worth pursuing for its own sake, without pretense that it is the salvation of the cities. But rural revitalization also must have qualitative goals, notably the widening of options and opportunities for the rural poor and minorities. Those advocating this kind of revitalization have much in common with the urban reformers. For the fundamental issue is not how to allocate resources among rural and urban places. It is how to direct more resources to need, whenever need is found in this affluent and often-forgetful land.

Jackson's Splash

As recently as August 10 Senator Henry Jackson (D, Wash.) was warning audiences about "the absolutists of the left," the people "who want to take over the Democratic Party." Before an enthusiastic AFL-CIO convention in New York last month he talked about "the left fringes," the "chic radicals," those who "despise America," and said, "There are politicians in the Democratic Party – a small but vocal minority who are pandering to these views." Agnew does all this more entertainingly, but the Vice President has no monopoly on pandering to Middle America's prejudices. Senator Jackson's rhetoric on this occasion paralleled an earlier speech on May 21, the day after George McGovern chided his fellow Democratic senators for refusing to support a troop cutback in Europe. That day Jackson said, " . . . some Democratic leaders have bent over backwards to pay homage to fringe elements."

Well, it's no longer the "fringe elements" but Middle America itself that's fed up with the war in Vietnam. So what does a senator do who has supported presidential handling of the war since it began, and is quoted as having said, "To agree that civil war in our times is a purely domestic matter in which we should never become involved would be to call a halt to our opposition to Communist expansion"? How can he slip off a sinking ship with the smallest possible splash? Political tactics point one way, conviction another. And Mr. Jackson is both a candidate and a man of conviction.

On September 10 he dealt with his dilemma by coming out against what is happening in South Vietnam, and for more American intervention. He is against the planned October election because it's a "one-man

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

referendum," he blames the Nixon administration for allowing the situation to develop as it has, and he urges the President to transform this pointless referendum" into a "meaningful political contest." Not only is the Vietnamese civil war our war, but Vietnamese elections are our elections. And if Nixon doesn't see to it that Thieu has something more than mutilated ballots to run against, Senator Jackson will have to "reserve" his position regarding military and economic aid for the South Vietnamese government. What sort of reservation? Jackson is reserving his position on that also.

The Nixon Watch

Praggy Dick

The favored descriptive of Mr. Nixon at the White House these days is "pragmatic." One imagines his chief assistants drooling with pleasure when James Reston and other commentators perceive in the President's turns toward Communist China and away from the principles of a free economy the creative pragmatism that his associates and spokesmen declare to be his central and greatest virtue. At long last, his official apologists are saying, the basic characteristic of Richard Nixon and of the Nixon presidency is being recognized and accorded its due.

The psalmists of Nixon pragmatism wouldn't jibe at applying to the President and his current performance the Random House Dictionary's definitions of the terms they use: "Pragmatism:. . .a philosophical movement or system stressing practical consequences and values by which concepts are to be analyzed and their validity determined"; and "Pragmatist: one who is oriented toward the success or failure of a given line of action, thought, etc; a practical person." Some discomfort is manifested when the inference that Mr. Nixon doesn't believe in anything is drawn. That, the inquirer is told, is the wrong way to put it. The right (or preferred) way to put it is that Mr. Nixon doesn't let his beliefs, which are said to be deep and strong, debar him from any line of action that seems to him to be necessary and practical, however inconsistent it may appear to be with prior lines of action and profession. There is an important difference, it is said for Mr. Nixon, between a lack of commitment and a constructive freedom from commitment. The President, it is further said, enjoys a freedom from commitment that enables him to deal with circumstances as he finds them and in consequence to be a resourceful and effective President. The general response to his freeze of wages and prices, a move that contradicted every rule of government and economics that he had previously advocated, and the paralyzing frustration that his steps toward accommodation with Communist China inflicted upon his liberal critics, are cited in evidence that Nixon pragmatism works and pays.

A pragmatic President needs pragmatic assistants. "You'll notice," a Nixon pragmatist remarked with merry satisfaction, "that all of our ideologues are gone." He mentioned Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a liberal Democrat who returned to the Harvard faculty in early 1971, and Arthur Burns, a conservative economist and sometime White House Counseller who was elevated to the Federal Reserve Board chairmanship in early 1970. Their departures, it seemed to the surviving assistant, had lessened tensions and improved the team spirit at the White House. Moynihan never let his liberalism get out of hand during his two years on the Nixon staff: he was offered and declined the American ambassadorship to the UN; and he has just been appointed to the delegation at this year's General Assembly session. After a period in disfavor, Burns at the moment is highly esteemed for his support of the President's revised economic policy. But the assistant's point about ideologues was sound: Moynihan and Burns were believers among nonbelievers, they fought with each other and for their beliefs, and the likes of them are no longer to be found at the Nixon White House. The Texas pyrotechnics of Treasury Secretary John Connally, who functions as an *ex officio* staff assistant, shouldn't be but often are mistaken for passion. Soon after he joined the Cabinet in February, Connally indicated with a genial grin that he was prepared to support any side of any argument the President wanted him to support. In his capacity as Mr. Nixon's "chief economic spokesman," he has done so with gusto and brilliance.

The practice of pragmatism, Nixon style, exacts a certain toll. Witness the recent experience and humiliation of Paul McCracken, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. *The Washington Post* of July 28 published an article, signed by McCracken, that in retrospect amounts to a detailed denunciation of the domestic economic policy Mr. Nixon announced on August 15. On August 16, McCracken applauded the announced policy and he has worked to justify and implement it since then. The derision aimed at McCracken should be aimed at the Nixon establishment. John Kenneth Galbraith had irritated some of that establishment's more sensitive members with a biting critique of pre-August Nixon policy. The office of Communications Director Herbert Klein was instructed to produce an authoritative rebuttal and get it printed. A Klein assistant first asked George Shultz, the director of the Office of Management and Budget, to write the rebuttal. Shultz passed the buck to McCracken, who finished the piece a couple of days before it appeared in the *Post*. The snapper on this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

otherwise drab story is that both Shultz and McCracken knew in late July that Mr. Nixon was contemplating the drastic shift in policy he announced on August 15. What they didn't know, and Mr. Nixon didn't know until August 12, was that he was going to announce it so soon. Shultz and McCracken supposed that the turnabout would come, if at all, in late September or early October. They hoped against hope that an economic upsurge in the meantime would validate the previous policy. If not, and the great reversal occurred after all, the article would be forgotten by the time the President discarded the policy that Shultz and McCracken among others have devised and defended.

Perhaps the most telling testament to the power of Nixon pragmatism is the ease with which the President scuttled his welfare reform program. He said later, much later than such preponents of it as HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson hoped he would, that he hadn't meant to scuttle it. But he had, at least for purposes of passage at the present session of Congress. An interesting thing about the scuttling, not previously reported so far as I'm aware, is the pathetically low price that Mr. Nixon put on the program. A White House "fact sheet" that supplemented the Nixon speech of August 15 gave casual readers the impression that the President proposed to save $1.1 billion in 1972 expenditures by postponing the effective date of his Family Assistance Act from July 1, 1972 to July 1, 1973. George Meany of AFL-CIO said as late as Sunday, September 5, that the President was proposing by this means to "take $1.1 billion from the poor." The fact is that when Mr. Nixon decided to include welfare deferral in his speech he was told by his advisers that it would reduce 1972 expenditures by $150 million; the rest of the $1.1 billion was to come from items identified only as "and other." The Office of Management and Budget strove frantically through the following fortnight to find and put believable dollar numbers on the "and other." George Shultz finally proferred to the House Ways and Means Committee a tabulation that bore very little resemblance to the original "fact sheet" and was loaded with questionable estimates of anticipated expenditure reductions. There is a sort of paper truth, for instance, in the claim that postponement of general revenue sharing will save another $1.1 billion in this fiscal year. But to suggest that the deferral of a program that is given no chance whatever of early enactment will save a penny that hasn't already been "saved" is closer to lying than I'd have expected the administration to get. Shultz testified on the day the President asked a joint session of Congress to approve his new economic policy. Mr. Nixon said his proposed expenditure cuts came to $4.7 billion, the figure he had used on August 15. Shultz put the total at $5 billion. Ah, well. What's a difference of $300 million, between pragmatists?

John Osborne

Congress and the President

Sharing Responsibility for War

by Alexander M. Bickel

When Congress left town for its vacation in August, one of its major preoccupations was the task of redressing the balance of power between itself and the institution of the presidency. There had been hearings before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee headed by Sam J. Ervin, Jr. of North Carolina on the presidential practice of impounding, and failing to spend, funds appropriated by Congress for various specific purposes; on the over-casual invocation of the doctrine of executive privilege to shield documents from congressional scrutiny, and presidential advisers from congressional questioning; and even on the practice of the tacit, so-called pocket veto of bills passed just before a congressional recess or adjournment. What is most important, there had been hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on a series of bills intended to reassert the function of Congress in deciding whether to commit the country to war. Now, a month later, Congress returns to an agenda dominated by economic problems. The concern with the relationship between itself and the executive is a deep-seated one in Congress, however, and some action on the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

war-power bills, even if perhaps not on other aspects of the general imbalance, remains likely.

The basic device for reviving legislative participation in the making of decisions about the international use of force was put forward by Senator Javits of New York more than a year ago, in the wake of the Cambodian incursion. It has since gathered support across a broad political spectrum. Senator Javits proposed that Congress should by statute – but in the broad terms that are alone appropriate to a constitutional issue of these dimensions – lay down the conditions in which the international use of American force by the President acting on his own authority is permissible. If the statutory conditions arise, moreover, and the President does use force, he should be required to report to Congress immediately. Congress should consider the situation and reach a decision about it within 30 days. Only in pursuance of an affirmative congressional judgment could the President then lawfully continue hostilities. Variations and elaborations of the Javits idea have since been formulated in bills by Senators Eagleton of Missouri, Stennis of Mississippi, who is chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Bentsen of Texas, and Taft of Ohio.

Aside from questions of detail and of drafting, the Javits bill, now co-sponsored also by Mathias of Maryland, Pell of Rhode Island and Spong of Virginia, and the other bills that Senator Javits' bill has inspired have to confront two sorts of problems. One is the legal problem of the independent authority which the President does possess under the Constitution, and which the Congress cannot take from him. The other, more a problem of policy, is a supposed danger, emphasized by Secretary of State Rogers in testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee and by such a member of the committee itself as Senator McGee of Wyoming, of so depriving the President of flexible power to act in emergency situations as to make international commitments assumed by the United States meaningless, and the role of this country as a world power virtually impossible of fulfillment.

The authority which the Constitution vests in the President and which Congress cannot take away is that of a commander-in-chief, responsible for the safety of his forces, and charged with protecting the country against attack. It is the constitutional function of the President to respond with force, as he deems it necessary, to an imminent threat of attack, as well as to an attack itself, against our armed forces wherever they may lawfully be deployed, as well as against the territory of the US. And it is his function to continue to see to the safety of our forces once they are engaged, even if Congress has told him to disengage.

There is no evident inclination in Congress to dispute these propositions. But circumstances are conceivable in which the President's duty to see to the safety of the forces he commands might come into conflict with the provision of the Javits bill requiring a President who has engaged in hostilities, and has duly reported to Congress, to disengage within 30 days unless Congress, by expedited procedures, decides to fight on. Yet this conflict can be avoided once the possibility of it is recognized. It should be understood that while disengaging, the President might find it impossible to safely terminate all combat within 30 days. There is a distinction between fighting in order to disengage, and continuing hostilities in order to gain some other objective. This distinction Congress can draw and enforce.

The greater difficulty is that so long as American forces are deployed across the world, occasions when the President may believe them to be in danger of attack will arise, and on such occasions, the President is free to act. Hence a next step, following upon passage of such a statute as the Javits bill, becomes essential if any substantial change in the balance of war-making power is to be achieved. That next step must be a reassessment by Congress of the present deployment of our forces throughout the world, and specific decisions by Congress authorizing various deployments, and in other instances causing our forces to be withdrawn. The authority of Congress thus to govern the international deployment of forces is really beyond question, even though Secretary Rogers attempted to throw some doubt upon it in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Secretary Rogers also stressed that the United States, as a world power in a tense and nuclear world, must retain credible capability to act in a crisis. And while American power has, no doubt, been spread too thin, and mutual security treaties have proliferated beyond the likely limits of credibility, it does remain true that our security and the peace of the world still rest in some measure on international commitments undertaken by the United States. Shall we now dismantle everything by declaring that the United States could not lawfully react with the adequately speedy use of force in a crisis?

The answer is that no one should ever reasonably have assumed that the United States could go to war by Presidential say-so, contrary to our domestic constitutional arrangements, in pursuance of a treaty; and our treaties, including the North Atlantic Alliance and the Southeast Asia Treaty, were not understood so to provide. All that treaties can do is affect the reaction to a crisis of the President and of Congress, each functioning as the Constitution envisions.

The President under our Constitution—and there is no apparent inclination in Congress to do anything but reaffirm this proposition—has power in an emergency to guard against attack or the threat of attack on the United States or on lawfully deployed forces in the United States. If, in the event of an attack on a friend or ally, there is implicit the threat of an imminent attack also on us, the President can react. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

existence of a mutual security commitment will enter into his decision. If there is an attack on a nation with which we have no mutual security arrangement, it will ordinarily be quite obviously farfetched to deduce that a threat of an attack upon ourselves has thus arisen. If, on the other hand, there is an attack on a nation with which we do have a mutual security treaty, circumstances are certainly imaginable in which the President may deduce that the attack on our ally signals the danger of an imminent attack upon ourselves. In such a case, he may react. This is the difference that a treaty can make, and will continue to make. Constitutionally it is the only way a treaty could enhance the President's independent war-making power.

Again, as has been the case all along, if an attack on a friendly nation creates an adequate consensus in the country that we should spring to the help of our friend, Congress can be persuaded to act, and act fast enough. If Congress will not act, or if our friend is devoured within a day or two, then it is surely evident that we could not have effectively helped anyway. That should be quite plain to any realistic foreign head of government. DeGaulle knew it. A mutual security treaty can only make it more likely than it might otherwise be that Congress will wish to commit American forces.

The one thing we and the world have learned from the Vietnam experience is that without understanding why we fight, and without the will to fight as a nation, we cannot fight effectively. Hence if the conditions are such that the threat of an attack upon ourselves cannot be deduced, and if Congress won't take the country into war, Presidents attempting what Lyndon Johnson attempted are only heading for failure. This much friend and foe alike surely know about us by now, and they know it whether or not Congress makes it explicit in a statute. Congress in any event probably does not have the constitutional power to give the President a blank check to commit the country to war in pursuance of any and all treaty obligations. But after Vietnam, such a blank check, even if constitutionally possible, could not reassure any sensible ally. It would merely constitute a temptation to some future President to forget Vietnam and plunge again into disaster.

A succession of Presidents, though well-intentioned and patriotic, have come close to canceling the effectiveness of Congress in matters of war and peace. The result is a dangerous contradiction of the principles of democratic government, which Congress ought, and happily seems prepared, to set right. Congress ought to set it right by actively resuming its function in the formulation of American foreign policy, as that policy is manifested in the disposition of our forces throughout the world. But that is a lengthy process. In the meantime, Congress needs to give itself and its partner in the national government, the President, clear indication that the responsibility for war, as for the works of peace, is a shared one, and that Congress means to resume exercise of its share. This is a first step which Mr. Javits and those who have supported and supplemented his essential idea mean to have Congress take.

Open Schools – II

Tempering a Fad

by Joseph Featherstone

Word of English schools reaches us at a time of cultural and political ferment, and the American vogue for British reforms must be seen as one element in a complex and many-sided movement. Within our schools, there is nearly a pedagogical vacuum. Few reformers have come forward with practical alternatives; even fewer have deigned to address themselves to working teachers. The grass-roots nature of the English reforms, with their emphasis on the central importance of good teaching, has a great appeal for people who are victims of the general staff mentality of our school reformers and managers. Blacks and other minorities are interested in new approaches simply because they reject all the workings of the schools as they stand; some of the best of the community control ventures, such as the East Harlem Block Schools, have been promoting informal methods, as have some of the parent-controlled Head-start programs. And there are growing numbers of middle- and upper-middle-class parents in favor of "open" and "informal," not to mention "free," schooling, even though they are vague on the ped-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agogical implications of these terms.

The most cogent chapters in Charles Silberman's *Crisis in the Classroom* are a plea for American educators to consider the English example. Silberman's book is interesting as a cultural document, as well as a statement in its own right. For it registers an important shift in opinion. Silberman is arguing that too many American schools are grim and joyless for both children and teachers. What was once said by a handful of radical critics is now very close to being official wisdom. Silberman, it should be added, distinguishes himself from many critics of the schools in that he is deeply sympathetic to ordinary classroom teachers and has a clear sense of the crucial importance of the teacher's role in creating a decent setting for learning.

By now I've visited a fair number of American classrooms working along informal lines. The best are as good as anything I've seen in England; the worst are a shambles. In the efforts that look most promising, people are proceeding slowly, understanding that preparing the way for further improvements and long-term growth is more important than any single "innovation." (As I've noted, there are too few entire school environments run along informal lines.)

Understanding the need for slow growth and hard work with teachers and children, many of the informal American practitioners I've talked to are alarmed at the dimensions of the current fad for "open" schools. There are reasons for skepticism. From today's perspective, which is no doubt morbid and too disheartened, it seems that our successive waves of educational reform have been, at best, intellectual and ideological justifications for institutions whose actual workings never changed all that much. At the worst, the suspicion is that past reform movements, whatever their rhetoric, have only reinforced the role schools play in promoting social inequality. The realization that schools alone cannot save the social order – which should have been obvious all along – has prompted some to despair over ever getting decent education.

Added to these sobering reflections is a fresh sense of dismay over the outcomes of the past ten years of "innovation." For we have finished a decade of busy reform with little to show for it. Classrooms are the same. Teachers conduct monologues or more or less forced class discussions; too much learning is still rote; textbooks, timetables, clocks set the pace; discipline is an obsession. The curriculum reform efforts of the '60s brought forth excellent materials in some cases – materials still essential for good informal classrooms – but they took the existing environment of the schools for granted. Perhaps because so many were outsiders, the reformers failed to engage teachers in continuous thought and creation, with the result that the teachers ended up teaching the new materials in the old ways. Being for the most part university people, specialists, the reformers were ignorant of classrooms and children: of pedagogy. They concentrated on content – organized in the form of the standard graduate school disciplines – and ignored the nature of children and their ways of learning. Too often children were regarded as passive recipients of good materials, and teachers as passive conduits. The reformers lacked a coherent vision of the school environment as a whole. It was characteristic of the movement that it ignored the arts and children's expressiveness.

In the philosophical chaos of the curriculum projects, the proponents of precision had a debater's advantage. They were able to state their goals in precise, measurable, often behavioral terms. For a time this false precision encouraged a false sense of security. And for a while the behaviorists and the education technology businessmen were allies: they imagined that a new era of educational hardware was dawning, promising profits commensurate with those in the advanced defense and aerospace industries. Now that the bubble has burst, it seems evident to more and more people that this curious alliance had all along been talking about training, not education. Training means imparting skills. It is an aspect of education, but not all of it. I suggest a reading example: if I teach you phonic skills, that is a kind of training. Unless you go on to use them, to develop interests in books, you are not educated. This ought to be the common sense of the matter, but it isn't. Our technicians conceive of reading as a training problem on the order of training spotters to recognize airplane silhouettes. If a sixth grader in a ghetto school is reading two years below grade level, as so many are, the problem may not be reading skills at all. A fourth grade reading level often represents a grasp of the necessary skills: part of the problem is surely that the sixth grader isn't reading books and isn't interested.

Another reason why some practitioners are dubious about "open" education reflects a further skepticism about the evangelical American mode of reform, with its hunger for absolutes and its weakness for rhetoric. Our "progressive" education movement often neglected pedagogy and the realities of life in classrooms and instead concentrated on lofty abstractions. It will be essential in promoting good practice today to abandon many old ideological debates. Yet the English example is now part of a whole diverse American cultural mood, which means that it is

---

JOSEPH FEATHERSTONE, *on leave from* The New Republic *this past year, is the author of* Schools Where Children Learn *(Liveright, 1971).* *This article and a preceding one, "The British and Us," in the September 11 issue, have been adapted from his introduction to a series of booklets sponsored by the Ford Foundation,* Informal Schools in Britain Today, *to be published in October by Citation Press, New York.* *©1971 Schools Council Publications.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

already ranged on one side of an ideological debate. The American milieu is polarized culturally and politically; this polarization conditions American responses to accounts of informal teaching. The responses tend to fall into the stereotyped categories of a cultural cold war raging between the hip, emancipated upper middle class and the straight middle and working class. It is a class and cultural conflict, and it takes the form of battles between those who see life as essentially a matter of scarcity – and defend the virtues of a scarce order, such as thrift, discipline, hard work – and those who see life as essentially abundant – and preach newer virtues, such as openness, feelings, spontaneity. Hip people like the idea of open classrooms, because they seem to give children freedom; straight people fear the supposed absence of order, discipline and adult authority.

If I portray this conflict in highly abstract terms, it is because it seems to me remote from the concerns of good American and British practitioners actually teaching in informal settings. Take the issue of freedom, for example. Letting children talk and move about is helpful in establishing a setting in which a teacher can find out about students; it helps children learn actively, to get the habit of framing purposes independently, using their own judgment. But this freedom is a means to an end, not a goal in itself. As a goal, freedom is empty and meaningless - "a breakfast food," as e. e. cummings once put it.

There are always those who argue that freedom is something negative – freedom from – and those who argue that freedom is positive. From authoritarians like Plato to libertarians like Kant and Dewey, the second line of argument has linked freedom with knowledge – the free use of reason or intelligence and, sometimes, action with knowledge. Whatever the merits of the positions in this fascinating, perpetual debate, it is surely more appropriate for educators of the young to conceive of freedom in the second sense, not a momentary thing at all, but the result of a process of discipline and learning. Informality is pointless unless it leads to intellectual stimulation. Many children in our "free" schools are not happy, and one suspects that part of the reason is that they are bored with their own lack of intellectual progress. As William Hull remarks in a trenchant critique of the current fad for "open" eduction: "Children are not going to be happy for very long in schools in which they realize they are not accomplishing very much."

Or take the issue of authority. That it *is* an issue is a mark of deep cultural confusion, as well as a reflection of the frequent misuse of legitimate authority in America. Whatever their politics, good practitioners assume as a matter of course that teachers have a responsibility to create an environment hospitable to learning, that there is what might be called a natural, legitimate basis for the authority of an adult working with children. In his superb little book, *The Lives of Children*, George Dennison outlines some aspects of this legitimate authority: "Its attributes are obvious: adults are larger, more experienced, possess more words, have entered into prior agreements with themselves. When all this takes on a positive instead of a merely negative character, the children see the adults as protectors and as sources of certitude, approval, novelty, skills. In the fact that adults have entered into prior agreements, children intuit a seriousness and a web of relations in the life that surrounds them. If it is a bit mysterious, it is also impressive and somewhat attractive; they see it quite correctly as the way of the world, and they are not indifferent to its benefits and demands. . . . [For a child] the adult is his ally, his model – and his obstacle [for there are natural conflicts, too, and they must be given their due]."

Disciplinary matters and the rest of the structure of authority in American schools work against the exercise of legitimate authority. And thus, in reaction to the schools, the education opposition movement foolishly assumes that all adult guidance is an invasion of children's freedom. Actually, in a proper informal setting, as John Dewey pointed out, adults ought to become more important: ". . . Basing education upon personal experience may mean more multiplied and more intimate contacts between the mature and the immature than ever existed in the traditional schools, *and consequently more rather than less guidance.*"

If you remove adult authority from a given group of children, you are not necessarily freeing them. Instead, as David Riesman and his colleagues noted in *The Lonely Crowd*'s critique of "progressive" education, you are often sentencing them to the tyranny of their peers. And unacknowledged adult authority has a way of creeping back in subtle and manipulative ways that can be more arbitrary than its formal exercise.

Another fake issue in the debate on open education is the distinction between education as something developed from within and education as something formed from without, the old, boring question of whether to have, as they say, a child-centered or an adult-directed classroom. There are, to be sure, certain respects in which the best informal practice is child-centered. The basic conception of learning, after all, reflects the image of Piaget's child-inventor, fashioning an orderly model of the universe from his varied encounters with experience. The child's experience *is* the starting point of all good informal teaching. But passive teaching has no place in a good informal setting, any more than passive children do. Active teaching is essential, and one of the appeals of this approach to experienced teachers is that it transforms the teacher's role. From enacting somebody else's text or curriculum, the teacher moves toward working out his own responses to children's learning. The teacher is responsible for creating the learning environment.

Still another confusion on the American scene lies

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the notion that liberalizing the repressive atmosphere of our schools – which is worth doing for its own sake – will automatically promote intellectual development. It won't. We need more humane schools, but we also need a steady concern for intellectual progress and workmanship. Without this, it is unlikely that we will get any sort of cumulative development, and we will never establish practical standards by which to judge good and bad work.

Some American practitioners question the utility of slogans such as the "open school," or "informal education." The terms are suspect because they become cliches, because they don't convey the necessary values underlying this kind of teaching, because they suggest a hucksterized package and because they divide teaching staffs into the "we" doing the open approach and the "they" who are not. Some imitate the philosopher Charles Saunders Pierce, who changed his "pragmatism" to the much uglier-sounding "pragmaticism" – in order, he said, to keep his ideas safe from kidnappers. They prefer an awkward and reasonably neutral term like "less formal." A brave few are modestly willing to march under a banner inscribed "decent schools."

This suspicion of slogans can be carried to ludicrous extremes. But at the heart of the evasiveness is an important point: educating children or working with teachers is an entire process. A good informal setting should not be thought of as a "model" or as an "experiment," but as an environment in which to support educational growth in directions that have already proved sound.

Some observers fear the manner in which our schools implement reforms in a way that destroys the possibility for further development of teachers. (There are already instances where principals have dictated "open education" to their staffs.) There is a deep – and I think altogether justified – mistrust of the conventional channels of reform from the top down: pronunciamentos by educational statesmen, the roll of ceremonial drums, the swishing sound of entrepreneurs shaking the money tree. Most of the serious American informal practitioners are self-consciously local in their orientation. They are interested in planting themselves in Vermont, Philadelphia, New York City, North Dakota or wherever, and working at the grass roots. They imagine that it will take a very long time to get good schools, and they do not believe that big-wig oratory or White House Conferences on Education are any substitute for direct engagement with teachers and children in classrooms.

The changes they are starting are small but they have large implications. All teachers, no matter how they teach, suffer from the climate of our schools, and every serious attempt at reform will soon find itself talking about lunchrooms, toilet passes, the whole internal control structure of the schools, relationships to parents, relationships to supervisory staff, the ways in which supplies are ordered, the links between an individual school and the central bureaucracies; ultimately issues of politics, power and money.

As schools move in informal directions, there will be an increasing criticism of our system of training and credentialing teachers and administrators. (Here, with the exception of outstanding institutions like London's Froebel Institute, the English do not have examples to emulate: their teachers colleges are improving, but they have trailed behind the work of the best schools.) The training of administrators will come under attack, and in some places separate training programs for administrators will be abolished. The inadequacy of teacher training will also become more evident, although it is far from clear how to improve it. What we do know is that theory has to be reunited with practice. Without a solid grounding in child development, much of our informal teaching will be gimmickry; and without a sound base in actual practice in classrooms, theory will remain useless.

The enormous variety of the American educational landscape makes it difficult to speak in general terms. In certain areas, education schools willing to restore an emphasis on classroom practice may unite with school systems ready to move in informal directions. In other areas, where the education schools are unable to change their mandarin ways, school systems will have to assume more and more of the responsibility for training and credentialing teachers. Whichever the pattern, a central feature of successful programs will be periods of work in good informal settings. Thus a prerequisite to any scheme of training will be the existence of good schools and classrooms to work in. The single most important task is the reform of schools and classrooms, for good informal classrooms provide the best teacher training sites.

Whether the current interest in informal teaching leads to cumulative change will depend on many things. Two are worth repeating: whether enough people can understand the essentially different outlook on children's intellectual development which good informal work must be based on, and whether our schools can be reorganized to give teachers sustained on-the-job support. I'm somewhat optimistic about the first: the ideas are in the air, and many teachers, on their own, are already questioning the assumptions behind the traditional classroom. The second question will be much harder to answer satisfactorily. In some places, the schools are ripe for change; in others change will come slowly and painfully, if at all; and in others the chances for growth are almost zero. Those promoting informal teaching ought to be wary of suggesting good practices to teachers working in institutional settings where real professional growth is out of the question. In such a setting, all obstacles mesh together to form what people rightly call the System. Right now it seems un-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

likely that the System in our worst school systems will ever permit teachers to teach and children to learn. But things may have looked that way to some British educational authorities in the '30s, too.

A final word on the faddishness of our educational concerns. The appearance of new ideas such as the clamor for open, informal schools does not cancel out old ideas. "Open education" will be a sham unless those supporting it also address themselves to recurring, fundamental problems, such as the basic inequality and racism of our society. The most pressing American educational dilemma is not the lack of informality in classrooms: it is whether we can build a more equal, multiracial society. Issues like school integration and community control have not disappeared, to be replaced by issues like open education. The agenda simply gets more crowded. It will be all the more essential, however, to keep alive in bad times a vision of the kind of education that all wise parents want for their children.

Who's Making It In Mexico?

by Melville J. Ulmer

Mexico City

Unless he is truly curious and stubborn, the foreign scholar can be effectively sedated by reading the official statistics on Mexico's economic expansion and the official accounts of her progressive legislation and other legal accoutrements of a modern, thriving welfare state. Apparently, in his latest study, Walt W. Rostow was so deluded, for he speaks admiringly of Mexico's "orderly economic growth" and "balanced social commitment" (in *Politics and the Stages of Growth*). And why not? Has not Mexico's growth rate (annual increase in "real" gross national product) over the past 15 years exceeded 6 percent and most recently, in 1969 and 1970, reached 7.4 percent – a pace exceeded by only two developed countries outside the Communist sphere (Japan and Finland) and by none of the less developed countries except for the especially advantaged few such as Libya, Korea and Israel? Moreover, more than most other countries, including the United States, it has kept inflation in check. Even when account is taken of Mexico's tremendous population growth, substantial gains remain. *Per capita* gross national product, after correction for price changes, increased by 4 percent per annum over the last decade and in 1970 was almost double its level of just 20 years ago. In fact, production per person in 1971 was reaching toward the $700 per annum mark, ranking Mexico somewhere between Portugal and Spain in the pecuniary hierarchy of nations. How is it possible, then, to view cynically the "revolutionary" tradition which began with Francisco Madera 60 years ago and can boast of such tangible achievements?

The answer is that the gains have gone to only 25 percent of the population at most, providing in Mexico one of the world's most unequal income distributions. For the top one-quarter – the great industrialists, the huge landowners, the small "middle class" of government functionaries, independent businessmen, managers, professionals and technicians, the gains *have* been substantial. The improvement has also been tremendous for another highly important sector of the Mexican economy: the American owners, largely corporate giants, of business enterprises in manufacturing, the service industries and agriculture.

It is the relative affluence of this minority middle class that catches the eyes of foreign observers in the urban centers and along the entire well trod path, aside from the depraved border towns, along which the usual tourist is conducted. It is their shiny autos that jam the main arteries of Mexico City, La Reforma and Insurgentes Sur, so that traffic crawls in the late morning hours when work begins, again during early and late afternoon when the siesta starts and ends, and once again in late evening when offices close and the fashionable move on to drinks and dinner that may commence at 10 or 11 p.m. These are what impress, along with the glittering skyscrapers, spacious villas, and luxury hotels that embellish the nation's capital, industrial Monterrey, and sun-drenched Acapulco.

But the other 75 percent of the Mexican population seem today no better off, perhaps a little worse off,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than they were when I lectured for a semester on economic planning in Mexico City 21 years ago. On the subsistence farms, growing corn or henequen, where 40 percent of the population lives, one sees the same bare feet, the same stigmata of undernourishment, the same one-room thatched *casitas* in which entire families live. In hovels on the fringes of the cities are their urban counterparts, still without shoes, displaced peasants seeking an entry that seldom comes into the industrial labor force. Social statistics from the 1970 census show that two-thirds of the people live without any form of drainage or sewage disposal, not to mention the luxuries of running water within the home, bath, toilet or other indoor plumbing. More than one-third of the people can neither read nor write. From the standpoint of the poor in Mexico, many of those classified as in "poverty" in the United States would seem unimaginably wealthy. And if the rejoinder is that all things are relative, note that the rich in Mexico are at least as ostentatiously affluent as our own most frivolous jet-setters.

The economic liberation and welfare of the masses has constituted the central plank of the activist, "revolutionary" tradition that still animates and perpetuates the nation's governing party, *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI), in power without interruption for nearly 40 years. We confront here another split between appearance and reality. It is true that government has adopted all or most of the legal paraphernalia aimed at lifting up the masses. But for every legislative thesis there is an antithesis in practice, negating or hobbling the original objective.

For example, beginning decades ago and gradually strengthened in a series of "reforms" is a system of progressive taxes on personal incomes and on business, with current marginal rates as high as 50 percent on upper-income groups, well above that in most developing countries. But along with the tax system is a powerful tradition of deliberate nonenforcement. Mexico's progress and industrialization, it is reasoned, depend on savings and investment. Unless capitalists are permitted to accumulate, the assumption goes, there will be no investment. Hence government is financed not by taxes on the rich, or on the thriving mineral and manufacturing industries, or on the well padded owners of huge "factories of the farm" that produce cotton, sugar, and coffee, but by *indirect* taxes – sales, excise and similar levies – that weigh disproportionately on the poor.

A variety of subsidies for business investment, similarly motivated, and built up in special tax exemptions, import privileges, extraordinary credit, cheap public power and other benefits, has had another peculiarly frustrating impact. Capitalists have been induced to employ "capital intensive" – that is, highly mechanized – means of production, though with its largely idle labor force, the country needs *labor* intensive methods. At times the growth of industry, with its labor-saving devices, has actually reduced rather than increased manpower requirements, although the cheap factor of production in Mexico is labor.

The government has never dared to count the unemployed, and it is not even clear that the question could find an answer. Is a young son employed if he helps his father scratch the parched soil on a tiny farm barely capable of supporting an individual, much less the average outsized Mexican family? Is a street-corner Aztec dancer in Mexico City, whooping and hollering, feathers flying as his four-year-old son passes the hat, at work or begging?

Early in the revolution, and especially under Lázaro Cárdenas, Mexico declared war against the *latifundias*, huge plantations under a single owner and worked by hundreds of sharecroppers. A law was passed limiting an individual's ownership of land, and many thousands of acres were acquired by the government and turned over to landless peasants under semi-collective arrangements called *ejidos*. The official literature and some scholars still speak fondly of Mexico's "land reform," and it is true that about one-fourth of the country's agricultural labor force is now occupied on the collectives. But the collectives were allocated the worst land in Mexico, in amounts so small per farmer that the proud *ejidatarios* can live no better now than they did before, and no better than their companions in rural poverty – independent subsistence farmers and agricultural laborers – can manage. Meanwhile, the laws limiting individual ownership have developed familiar weaknesses in application. What can government do if a man buys the maximum amount of land allowed in his own name and then buys similar maximum plots, respectively, in the names of his countless sisters, brothers, cousins and aunts? Today the most fertile land in Mexico, accounting for the bulk of the nation's farm output and virtually all of its substantial agricultural exports, is owned in large holdings by wealthy families or solid industrial interests, some American. It is no secret. One of the top Mexican officials and a noted rural economist, Horacio Flores de la Peña, conceded to me that "Mexico after 30 years or more of agrarian reform is a country of large landowners."

This disparity between presumed intention and actual result, appears on many other sides. The law states that every child must have a minimum of six years of schooling. But millions of poor families never get their children to school at all. Early on, Mexico adopted an elaborate system of direct import controls and tariffs. They were essential, it was said, to encourage domestic industrialization, the growth of "infant" industries and more output and employment. The trade restrictions still stand, providing a welcome shelter under which carefree monopolies and oligopolies enjoy high prices and exorbitant profits. Mexico has established a system of free, national health service, but lacks the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doctors to staff it; medical help seldom reaches the rural areas where most of the people live or even the human discards from the farm such as the 60,000 squatters who live in tumbledown shacks on the barren hills overlooking luxurious Acapulco.

One final example: Since the constitution of 1857, formulated under Benito Juarez, Mexico has been officially pledged to keep the secular power of the church in check. Yet the influence of the church has remained sufficiently strong thus far to prevent an official program for population control. Hence, especially on the farm where incomes are lowest, Mexico can boast one of the highest birth rates in the world. In 1970 its total population was 48 million, of which fully 40 percent or 19 million were under the age of 12. Meanwhile, a steady stream of displaced or surplus farmers flows into the cities and industrial centers, constituting an ever expanding reserve army of unemployed and serving to keep the average wage at a sufficiently low level to expedite economic progress.

Mexico's *de facto* one-party system rests upon reconciling opposing interests. The influence of the impoverished majority is evidenced in the revolutionary verbiage, the progressive laws and the activist posture of government, adopted religiously by the PRI from its beginning. The influence of big business and big landowners, with both of which American capital is ideologically aligned, is evidenced in the extra-legal interpretation of progressive legislation which so often distills, in practice, to nonenforcement.

It is the latter alignment particularly that has induced many intellectuals to rally in opposition to "neo-imperialism," by which they mean the ubiquitous domination of American capital. Characteristically, this domination persists and grows despite a firm law restricting majority ownership in business enterprise to Mexicans. The loophole? There are any number of "name-lenders" – Mexican lawyers ready at a fee to accept purely nominal shares in the ownership of corporate subsidiaries run by Americans. Of the 400 largest corporations in Mexico, accounting for the bulk of manufacturing output, one Mexican economist (Leopoldo Solís) estimates that more than half are operated from home offices in the United States. The profits accruing from Mexican property to US business in 1970 came to more than the country's net returns from its largest single earner of foreign exchange, tourism. In an impressive series of studies, economists such as Torres Gaitán, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Fernando Paz Sánchez, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, and Arturo Bonilla have shown that in foreign trade, as Mexico's chief supplier of goods, the United States has exploited its monopolist position by exacting prices regularly above world market levels. Similarly, as sole purchaser of much of Mexico's output, Big Brother has earned stunning profits by setting prices below the competitive market. A recent book by the last four economists named above cites Anderson Clayton & Co., General Foods, American Tobacco, Procter & Gamble and United Fruit as among those that in agriculture (which accounts for more than half Mexican exports) have utilized such arrangements most successfully.

The losers, of course, are not Mexican business, which gets its share, but the bulk of the Mexican population, that is, the poor, which winds up paying increasingly more for less. Currently, according to official estimates, the poorest three-fourths of the population receives less than one-third of the national income, which is a much smaller proportion than prevailed 20 years ago when Mexico took off on its record-breaking statistical triumphs.

No economic law says that Mexico cannot go on as it has, achieving new triumphs in statistical growth rates, with the rich getting richer and the poor poorer. But there are formidable political obstacles, and also signs that they are being recognized as such in government circles. Student demonstrations this spring and summer, in which at least nine were fatally shot and scores of others seriously wounded, were but one recent manifestation of the unrest and impatience that stretch down from the influential intellectuals to the rootless poor of the cities and the normally fatalistic peasants. Articles bitterly critical of government have become more frequent and widely circulated, along with, in reaction, shrill and almost hysterical anti-Communist diatribes, though in fact both the extreme right and extreme left are small minorities.

One of the surprises in my own conversations with government officials is that to a man they concede that a forthright move to the left of center is essential for the party's peaceful survival. Strict enforcement of income tax laws and higher direct levies on business are high on their agenda. The provision of irrigation and subsidies for fertilizers and machinery for the peasants are too. (In hundreds of miles of driving through the subsistence agricultural areas of the Yucatan and the south I saw many a horse-drawn plough but not a single tractor.) Higher wages and more effective controls on the prices of necessities are also listed. It is even whispered, in confidence, that the government will actively encourage family planning. President Echeverria – who began his six-year term last December – started quietly, but in the face of demonstrations this summer publicly announced his determination to reverse the regressive trend in the distribution of income, provide public works for the unemployed and extend educational and health facilities.

In response to these good resolutions, all of which have been heard before, there have been the customary, ominous rumblings of opposition from the industrial tycoons of Monterrey, most of whom clasp hands over the border with American capital. Real progress in Mexico will depend on the government's ability, for the first time in history, to override that rumbling.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

Desperate Characters

(ITC & TDJ)

Any white person who owns anything is under siege. Particularly if he's not young. A mansion or a one-room apartment, a Mercedes or a second-hand compact, if he owns anything, he is hated. The class war seems to be coming to the knife-edge, but as Marx didn't quite foresee, it's not only a war between haves and have-nots, it's also a war between generations and races. The white poor hate the white nonpoor. (How many city people have had their country places broken into lately? Friends of mine, with a small house on a remote mountain road, have arrived three times in the last six months to discover thefts.) The young rob the nonyoung, and justify this "ripping off" on moral, almost evangelist grounds. And as for races, the brute fact – in New York, at least – is that every white person is an animal in a game preserve whom nonwhites can hunt at their pleasure.

I'm *not* forgetting historical reasons for all these matters. I *have* read *Soledad Brother*. I *have* read Proudhon on property. (And I know that many nonwhite people, too, are robbed daily.) But I'm not talking about causes and guilts, just about the facts of living day to day in this country as the white nonyoung owner of *anything*. You are a target. That's not Minuteman scare-talk. I don't think that anyone who lives in (say) New York today can honestly deny these conditions, no matter what his social-political beliefs.

This is the climate of *Desperate Characters*, the feeling that grips a couple in their late 30s – people who have a house in Brooklyn and another in the country, well-disposed people of the now-despised liberal persuasion, who feel they are living in a state of siege. But this state of physical siege is simply the locus for a state of moral and spiritual siege. What they feel within and between themselves is derived, fundamentally, from the same causes as what they see around them. Their physical unease – setting the burglar alarm before they go out for the evening, watching the new slovenly neighbors corrupt the community – is ultimately tied to the causes of their deepest unhappiness.

He is a lawyer whose partner, a lifelong friend, has just left for a more socially responsive practice, and the split is a tacit agony. She is a translator of French when she works, childless ("I've got a uterus like a pinball machine"), who has had one love affair and may have more. Brightness has fallen from their air. Hope is a question that has to be thought about.

The chief metaphor of the story is a cat bite. The wife feeds a stray cat outside the door, and it bites her. There is some question as to whether the cat is rabid. It must be caught, and presumably killed, for examination. The wife is bitten on a Friday night and won't know till Monday whether she's been infected. (It all takes place on one weekend.) At the end, on Sunday night, the question is still open. The symbolism is a trifle heavy because it's so clear: the stranger outside repays help with viciousness, may have poisoned the life inside just because he was outside and had to accept help, and may be killed in order to protect the life inside. Still it's used without verbal underscoring, except for one moment near the end.

Paula Fox's novel *Desperate Characters* (1970) fixed all this with comprehension and incisiveness. Now Frank D. Gilroy has made the book into a film. That's really the gist of the matter: he's made a good novel into a good *film* – has written, directed and produced it himself.

This is the same Gilroy who wrote *The Subject Was Roses*, a Pulitzer-prize play that did nothing to raise the status of that prize and was later a film that did less. He has written other plays and films, with spots of interest in them, but even the best in his best work did not prepare me for the quiet authority, the *accepted* realism (unflaunted), the subtlety of performance, and the visual vitality of this picture. In making a film about the doubtfulness of hope, Gilroy himself has shown why it still springs.

He has adapted the novel with a sure sense of the filmable, the expandable, the contractable. For instance, the whole account of the wife's affair, instead of a substantial flashback as in the book, is handled in one long slow pan in the lover's office while an unanswered telephone rings and rings. He enriches the essences of the book: he has put in a scene in a subway car, in which we hear a man conversing amiably; the camera moves over the wife's face and other silent faces till it reaches the chatting man who is talking to himself, while everyone else in the car sits silently, not even looking at him. As he continues to talk and they continue to ignore him, the scene cuts off. And Gilroy has given us a party scene that, for once, doesn't try to be the epitome of the Rotten and Superficial, it's just a party. (Out of which two young hips stride disgustedly.)

The dialogue is acute and self-con-

(continued on page 34)

Films Worth Seeing

Carnal Knowledge. Skilled surgeon Jules Feiffer operates on the US tail-chasing male – with some wit but the patient dies. Jack Nicholson is good though not the Bronxite he's meant to be. Mike Nichols' direction is fine: clear, cool, controlled.

The Clowns. A memoir by Federico Fellini of his love for a disappearing art. Sentimental but endearing. Interviews with old clowns, recreations of old acts, and Fellini himself. If you know children who won't mind Italian dialogue with subtitles, it's certainly for them, too.

The Go-Between. 1900, looking fresh as English daisies. Mildly poignant story, like the L. P. Hartley original, about a small boy who witnesses a doomed love affair. Margaret Leighton fine, Alan Bates fair, Julie Christie foo. Joseph Losey directed, at his textural best.

The Hired Hand. An attempt to capture, in visual ballad form, the changing of the Old West, where men fared alone, into a west of families and farms. Sometimes precious, often lovely. Verna Bloom is an earthy farm wife. Peter Fonda, merely earnest as the husband, does better with his directing. (His directing debut.)

Little Big Man. Dustin Hoffman in the Old West, too, as both a white man and an Indian, which enables him to live to 121! The antiwhite moralizing in Arthur Penn's direction is a bit heavy, but there's some picaresque sweep. SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Alleged American Revolution

Without Marx or Jesus by Jean-Francois Revel

(Doubleday; $6.95)

All through my first reading of *The Greening of America,* I kept being nagged by a persistent but unclarified suspicion that the tone and style, for an author I'd never read before, were hauntingly familiar. Eventually, the suspicion came into focus: the voice I had been hearing was that of a clever French journalist (in translation) reporting on a six weeks' visit to the United States. Having read Jean-François Revel's *Without Marx or Jesus,* I am surer than ever. And Reich and Revel are similar in more than expression, each arguing a sensational but comfortable thesis about the Revolution and its manifestation in these United States. Revel's book is easily the more impressive, being much better edited and written by a nonresident into the bargain.

His thesis is quickly told. The only revolutions worthy of the name entail total remodelings of society, and judged by this criterion, most "revolutions," notably Russia 1917 and Germany 1933, are mere *coups d'etat.* There has been to date but one real revolution, it having begun in 1715 with the death of Louis XIV and ended at some indeterminate point in the 19th century. This was the First Revolution; the Second cannot originate in Western Europe, in the Third World, nor the Communist Bloc, but must start in the United States, where, without any guarantee of final victory, it is now in full swing.

It may well be imagined that the French were astounded by a book which proclaims the unsettling heresy that the United States, far from being the hearthland of reactionary imperialism, is the vanguard of the Revolution; one may expect the reception of the American edition will be as astounded, if sharply differentiated according to the reader's political stance. Revel is most likely to outrage the extremes, left and right; New Leftists are going to have trouble swallowing the notion that they live in the freest country in the world, getting freer all the time; and staunch conservatives will not be cheered by the book's promise of imminent and drastic change. But anyone who can read it fairly relaxed is going to have a great deal of fun.

For the impossibility of revolution in Western Europe, Revel offers a plausible argument grounded in the profound devotion to theorizing of a chronically divided Left, qualities he sees as compounded by an innate conservatism so pervasive that Communist parties faced by an opposition in disarray have been unable to seize power because of their own fear of the changes inherent in revolution. In the Communist world, not only has there been no revolution in consequence of the Communist accession, but now totipotent and reactionary regimes make one even less likely than formerly. In the Third World, underdeveloped societies cannot marshal the energy essential for drastic change, whatever the direction. These conclusions, although they may not seem entirely novel to most Americans, are much the soundest part of the thesis, and the description and interpretation from which they derive the most informative and entertaining part of the book as a whole.

Having eliminated the possibility of revolution anywhere else, and having conceded the possibility of its impossibility even in the United States, Revel presents a good deal of argumentation that it is at least under way. While much of his evidence here is more satisfactory than that arrayed by Charles A. Reich, very often it rests on the sort of almost compulsive overgeneralization which afflicts European observers of America, used as they are to thinking of national cultures in metropolitan rather than continental terms. Of the dangers inherent in writing of foreign countries on short acquaintance Revel is quite aware, disclosing in his preface that the excesses of his colleagues had led him to a firm resolve to write nothing about the earlier of his most recent trips. But on the second, he became convinced that Europeans had fearfully misjudged this country, and that he was in a position to correct their errors. Now, while his own impressions are often corrective, reassuringly so, the text abounds in indications that he too can be a blind man experiencing the elephant by touch, and that although he has perceived more than most of his compatriots, he has still not quite got it all right.

Thus Revel on American television:

> In the United States, the chance of two viewers watching the same program is statistically small [!]. In the larger cities, for example, there are eight or ten channels from which to choose. The term "American media" therefore signifies diversity.

Without wishing to dispute Revel's point that our television is significantly freer than his, I suspect that he discovered all these channels in an evening with the telly in a New York hotel. Living in a teeming metropolis of 400,000, I get (nominally) five channels. Three of these are the networks, and we all know how diverse *they* are; one is a commercial independent, i.e., the networks five years late; and one is the PBS outlet. The effective choice, if one is talking about real alternatives, is two, and the situation in the more heavily bechanneled cities is hardly much better.

Revel appears to think the American educational structure is as centralized as the French:

> Such has been the battle for black rights since 1954; that is, since the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education,* which declared unconstitutional the maintenance of separate school systems for blacks and whites. It has been a winning battle. Today, there are 434,000 black students in American universities, out of a total black population of 22 million – a ratio higher than that of French university students to France's 50 million inhabitants.

This must strike the local reader as a stunning nonsequitur before he even considers the intractable fact that blacks remain grossly underrepresented in higher education, especially outside the *de facto* segregation of the black colleges. But perhaps Revel imagines that the Supreme Court directs the workings of some mythical Ministry of Instruction. Another time, discussing the enforcement of the voting rights act, Revel appears to confuse it with ministerial fiat:

> Kennedy's interest in King and his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

work was not academic. In 1963, the President prepared, in consultation with King, a new voting law – a law which was passed in 1964 and signed by President Johnson. According to its provisions, blacks who wished to vote were now allowed to register directly with federal officials, and thus bypass the obstructionism of local or state officials. Such achievements provoked counterattacks by the racists and brought things to a crisis; and then, federal agencies were obliged to intervene and to send troops to the South in order to uphold the decisions that they had previously been compelled to make.

Doubtless there are federal bureaucrats who wish they disposed of a few battalions of the regulars, but it remains only a dream.

Sometimes, the naivete is that of a visitor not from France, but from Mars. The peculiar American contribution to revolution, Revel says, is dissent, a term which seems to generally equate with Movement activities, and certainly not antedating them. Through dissent, Americans succeed in keeping their governors in a constant state of apprehension and change without actually setting up barricades. One might, I suppose, trace dissent so defined back rather further, say, to the Roman Republic. Suffice it to mention the movement for women's suffrage, particularly its British section, featuring as it did a suicidal disruption of the Derby and an attempt to burn down Lloyd George's house. Notably missing from the history of dissent according to J. F. Revel is the name of one Mohandas K. Ghandhi. But even if one discounts the originality of American dissent, doubt remains as to its revolutionary potential. The civil rights movement, after all, resulted in a series of legislative acts (of as yet unproven efficacy) which were so unrevolutionary as to be dovetailed with the existent Constitution. The abdication of Lyndon Johnson is often cited as an example of the power of dissent, but had Johnson won the New Hampshire primary handily, surely he would have run again, secure in the face of any amount of civil turmoil in believing it to be the work of an isolated and voteless minority. That he was knocked out of the running was a triumph of electoral politics, energized by a protest movement, but operating through the sober political structures of New England, perhaps abetted by the proudness of a spirit which could hardly have faced defeat tranquilly.

It remains to be proven that dissent has any great potential beyond this sort of mobilization of the traditional electoral and legislative machinery. Revel seems to be thinking in terms parliamentary, particularly French ones, in which the parliamentary mindset is so engrained that even the DeGaulle who brought France presidential autocracy, finally made a referendum an issue of confidence and left the scene for all the world like a premier who had been defeated in the Assembly. Revel seems unaware of the stabilizing force of the four-year term, a powerful check on the practical force of dissent. The notion of a president *resigning* over a collapse in policy remains a subject for the speculation of the more lurid political thrillers.

There are in fact a great many small boners scattered throughout the book, none frightful in itself, but as a group animative of a view of our society too rosy by half. The majority of these appear to result from too monolithic a view of American culture, a defect surprising in an author part of whose burden is that the United States is far less monolithic than Frenchmen are wont to see it. Thus the grape boycott's success is attributed in part to students having kept grapes out of college dining halls, which are well-known to feed each day some 6,000,000 students, staff and faculty, quite as if "the students" were a corporation everywhere in charge of the commons. The regional postal work stoppages of March 1970 are turned into a general strike, and said to be unprecedented, in the face of such prior occasions as the universal and disruptive British slowdown of 1962. Having seen Spanish and Chinese signs in California airports, Revel is impressed by the striking linguistic pluralism of the United States, a judgment which would surprise Chicanos everywhere, not to say Chinese and others.

Other oddities perhaps result from the presentation of individual and often controversial opinions as received and anonymous wisdom. The University of California at Berkeley, despite its tribulations, is said to be considered the best university in the country, perhaps the world. Whatever the accuracy of this evaluation in especial, the effect is tendentious; few would argue that Columbia has survived its time of troubles so unscathed. The General Electric strike "is considered" the most significant social development since 1930. It would do aspiring international journalists no harm to foreswear the passive voice in citing opinions.

Sometimes the oddities appear purely quixotic. Large numbers of Americans, Revel says, escape the draft because, there being no universal registration of births[?], the army has no way of being sure that every eligible has registered for the draft. This seems to me to seriously underestimate the intelligence and energy of the folks down at Selective Service. But in case you haven't tried it, Mr. Tarr, look into public school records – the authorities are fussy about proof of age for first graders – and driver's license records. The whole thing sounds like the sort of tale obliging bartenders spin for interested foreigners: I was once told by a British publican that the ancestors of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Home (as he then was) had pronounced the name with an "o," until an occasion when, on a raid across the border, a clan chieftain shouted the family name (by way of war-cry) and his men all headed for home, with the permanent result of replacing the "o" with a "u." Some such process *must* underlie Revel's most engaging statistic: in 1967, of the 750,000 citizens of San Francisco, no fewer than 300,000 were hippies.

Well, no one can expect even the cleverest journalist to get everything right, but Revel, with intentions considerably more agreeable than his typical colleague, regularly falls into generalizations quite as ludicrous, if much more polite.

At times, indeed, he can nod when surveying the nearer ground. What happened to the mark in 1969 he calls (and treats as) a devaluation. As this datum is used to set up a punch line, the remark that Willy Brandt has been France's most successful Minister of Finance, one wonders if perhaps Revel sometimes gets tangled in the pursuit of a *bon mot*. Almost certainly this is the case in his observation that inasmuch as only 10 percent of all Frenchmen can afford a higher education, France functions intellectually as a country of 5,000,000. A very adamantine way of seeing it, no doubt, but brittle. The comparison implied is with a country where *everyone* gets higher educated, the axiom planted that higher education equals intellectual functionality. Doubtless Revel disbelieves in the existence of any such country, as well as rejects his own axiom; the lure of the irresistible line has led him away from the less witty, if useful, observation that not many Frenchmen get to college, with what results may be worth considering.

Revel's theoretical framework is at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OCTOBER 1971

SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS
IND

new Woman®

FIRST MAGAZINE FOR THE THINKING WOMAN

CONTENTS OF OCTOBER ISSUE:

PRESIDENT NIXON'S NEW WOMAN

TOGETHERNESS IN A TUB

NEW WOMAN DEFLATES THE BIG BUST/BIG PHALLIC MYTH

LET THIS SIMPLE COLOR TEST BE THE LIFE OF YOUR NEXT PARTY

NEW STYLES OF MARRIAGE

THINGS YOUR HUSBAND NEVER TOLD YOU ABOUT SEX

GIVE YOUR FLAW A PERSONALITY

NEW WOMAN'S STOCK MARKET ADVICE

DIVORCE: THE ROAD TO REBIRTH

NEW CAREERS IN BROADCASTING

PLUS TWENTY PAGES OF BEAUTY/FASHION/TRAVEL
75¢ ON YOUR NEWSSTAND AS LONG AS THEY LAST!

Last Chance to Subscribe to NEW WOMAN at **$7.50** rate!

☐ One year at **$7.50** (**$1.50** off newsstand price)
☐ Two years at **$12.50** (**$5.50** saving off newsstand price)
☐ Three years at **$19.00** (**$8.00** saving off newsstand price)

Name_____ Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____
Occupation (for Demographic Editions, please)_____
☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me ☐ Student (special rate: **$4.50** . . . . payment enclosed)
Send to NEW WOMAN, P.O. Box 24202, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33307 NR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

least as troublesome as his sometimes barefoot observation of the United States and points east.

As Mary McCarthy points out in an afterword written for the American edition, [I do not recall having recently seen a book published complete with a mixed review] and as he himself concedes in prefatory remarks answering Miss McCarthy, [nor what is even odder, an author getting to answer the critic in his own first edition] Revel's definition of revolution is idiosyncratic. Miss McCarthy would equate it with reform, but I would go further and call it evolution, largely on the basis of a remark to the effect that although orthodox historians will tell you that there was no revolution in 19th-century England, if you take a look at the place in 1800 and again in 1900, you will be amazed at the difference. Nor does his revolution entail violence, itself a concept barely recognizable as he uses it. He appears to equate it with any large-scale political operation not enabled by statute. The concept, I dare say, needs redefinition as long as those who close down colleges by force imagine themselves as nonviolent just because no one gets clobbered. But Revel would go further than recognizing psychological dimensions of violence, for he regards the Birmingham bus boycott as a violent affair. Not being entirely sure of what he thinks took place during that boycott, I cannot be quite sure that the idiosyncrasy is more reportorial than theoretical, but idiosyncrasy of some sort there certainly is.

One hardly need deny the usefulness of redefinition to believe that it has its limits, and that Revel has passed them. For when an author begins by proclaiming that the revolution is under way in the United States, he generates a number of shock waves which will have to be called back later on when he turns out to mean by revolution what is now going on in the United States. The technique could, however, be of immense use to a reviewer in search of an arresting opening: "*Without Marx or Jesus* is the most extraordinary book to have been written since the war by a Maoist Jesuit from Bulgaria." But retribution will be paid comes the time to define those terms so as to make them comprehensible as used.

But all this may be largely semantic quibbling on my part, as well as a narrowly American reaction to a book written for Frenchmen, a reaction perfectly appropriate in regard to an American edition. For Revel is never more pointedly effective than when detailing the sort of ignorant bigotry consistently fallen into by European intellectuals – the French especially – when talking about the United States, a topic which seems to lead his friends generally into the wildest contradictions. They argue that all those copies of *Soul on Ice* were sold to blacks, but three minutes later react to Revel's announcement that there is a black television network (as much news to me as to them) by claiming that the blacks have all been kept illiterate. To such an audience, a vision of America essentially that of an optimistic liberal, one of a society however flawed still extraordinarily free, freer than France, still capable of change, still on the right path, such a vision, coming from a countryman, is likely to be sensational. And since Revel himself, before his most recent trip, appears to have tended towards acceptance of the traditional view, his own discovery of its falsity may have been traumatic enough to bring to birth some not entirely sound theories of what it is to have a revolution.

One must not be too snide here. For it is not French leftists alone who have been incapable of such discoveries. Those Americans, a multiplying tribe, who imagine that they live in a devil-state, are going to find Revel's report just as *outre* as his fellow Frenchmen. It would be pleasant to think they will find him a corrective, but it will be all too easy for those who do not know de Tocqueville to discount *Without Marx or Jesus*, with its insouciant dismissal of the prophets that count, as no more than a *jeu d'esprit* from a mad Frenchmen, one tainted by liberalism into the bargain.

But for all his boners, all the consequent overcheeriness, all the haziness of theory, I can more easily recognize my country as seen by Jean-François Revel than by many of my compatriots.

Samuel McCracken

Music

The Kennedy Center

When the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, DC, officially opened its doors for the first time on September 8, more than 750 persons had submitted press credentials, and 375 requests for accreditation were honored. How many Annie Oakleys the management distributed is not known, but it is absolutely characteristic of the American press and especially the press corps in Washington to treat the opening of a public building as a matter of consuming general interest while ignoring or misinterpreting artistic events of real importance. During the opening week, the Center presented the world premieres of Leonard Bernstein's *Mass* and Alberto Ginastera's opera *Beatrix Cenci*, and if they got more press coverage than normal, it is because, fortuitously, they and not Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* and *Aida* were on the opening bill.

In contrast was an event which took place in Washington last spring, the Fifth Inter-American Music Festival, sponsored by the Organization of American States. This was an expensive bash made up of five concerts of contemporary music including twelve world premieres, and the occasion of the first North American appearances of the chamber opera company of the Teatro Colon of Buenos Aires. Outside the city of Washington, total US press coverage of the event was confined to one misleading and ill-informed piece in *Newsweek* which dealt with only the first of the concerts, a thorough report in *The Christian Science Monitor*, and something in *The New York Times* about the three events that just happened to fall on a long weekend. What the Festival needed to draw world attention to it was, obviously, an expensive piece of brand-new real estate to go with it.

The founding fathers of the Kennedy Center were laboring under the illusion that they were creating a National Cultural Center, and they called it just that. They overlooked two overriding disadvantages. First, that the cultural and political capitals of the United States are in different places and no amount of pump-priming is going to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESEARCH IN DAILY LIFE

A Semiannual Journal Investigating the Social Question

Research in Daily Life is dedicated to the application of experimental science to social problems, particularly as these relate to the lived experience and practical activity of the individual. The primary purpose of our journal is to criticize the new projects that aim to supercede the impoverishment of daily life. The problem now is to make known the existence of such projects and the possibility of their success in transforming the world. But the words available are inadequate to say what must be said. What is required is a critical investigation of the language of science and of daily life, and the conscious attempt to lay down the new semantic field where **real dialogue** is possible.

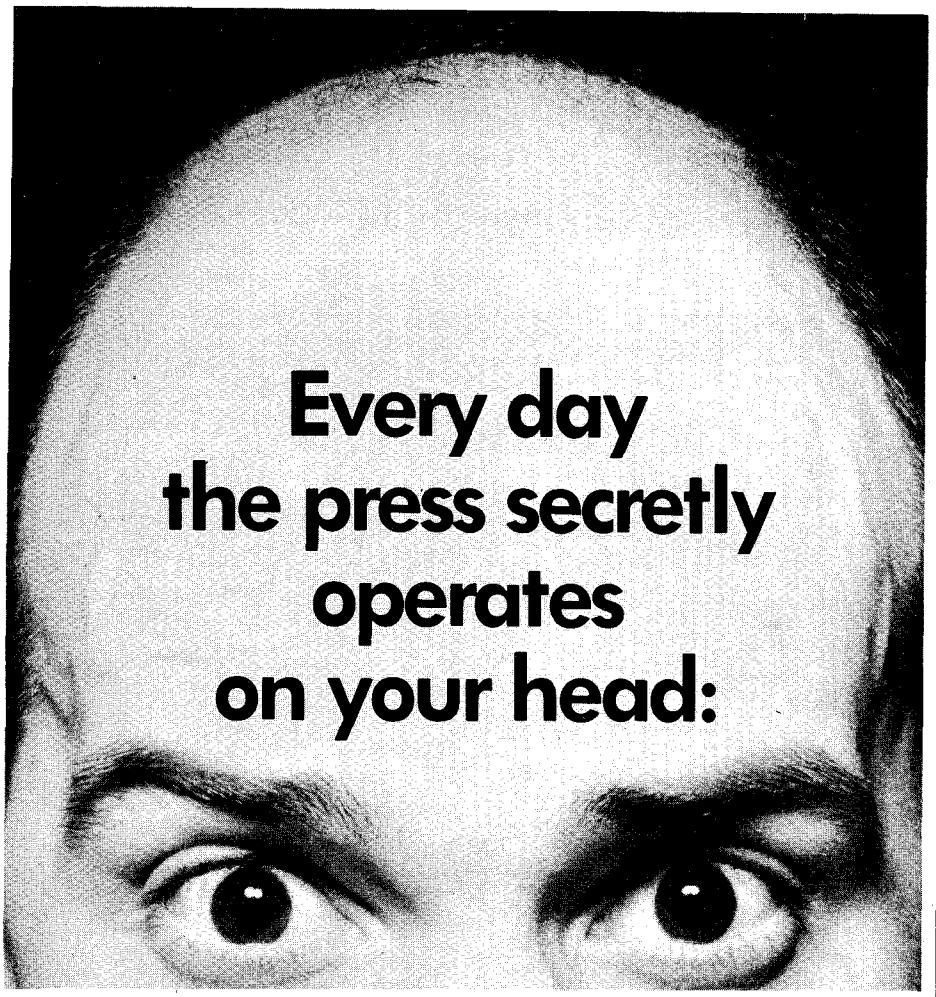
The second issue of our journal (**R.D.L. 2**, fall 1971) includes:

- The New Language for the New Science, Part 1, 'Captive Words' by Mustapha Khayati
- The Sociometry of Slander by Peter Waring
- Project U.C.L.I.S.: User-Controlled Library of Innovations in Science.

Send communications and subscriptions ($10 for two years)to: R.D.L. Journal, P.O. Box 96, Manhattanville Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10027.

SEPTEMBER / 1971

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



we operate on the press

(MORE)
A JOURNALISM REVIEW

(MORE) is a new monthly journalism review which will tell you a lot you don't know about how the press is run.

(MORE) tells you why some stories are killed, why others are "altered," and why what is printed sometimes tells only part of the story. For example:

Norman Mailer: He wrote a letter to the editors of Life complaining about Susan Brownmiller's review of The Prisoner of Sex. The review never ran. Read why — and the review — in **(MORE)**.

Columnists: Veteran Washington observer Julius Duscha explores the world of political pundits and finds most are anachronisms with little of relevance to say. **(MORE)**

Sports: Leonard Shecter, co-author of Ball Four, describes his recent ouster from the Cincinnati Bengals training camp and examines the cozy relationship between the sports establishment and most sports writers. **(MORE)**

Also: The Passionate Parvenu, a piercing parody of New York magazine by Lindsy Van Gelder, and a report on New York's much-ignored Community News Service by Terry Pristin. Plus, of course, the "Hellbox." **(MORE)**

And in coming issues: Articles by J. Anthony Lukas, David Halberstam, Dotson Rader, Nat Hentoff, Paul Cowan, George Reedy and many **(MORE)**.

If all this makes sense to you — you already know something about reading between the lines. Which is why you'll probably want **(MORE)**.

(MORE) A JOURNALISM REVIEW NR

P.O. Box 2971,
Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10017

Please begin my subscription to **(MORE)** at the
☐ **Special Charter Subscription Rate 2 Years**
24 issues $12.00 (regularly $14.00)
☐ 1 Yr., 12 issues $7.50 ☐ 3 Yrs., 36 issues $19.00
☐ Check enclosed ☐ Please bill me

Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____

put Washington in competition with New York for priority. Second, the word "cultural" in the sense that these people were using it would never have crossed the lips of a "cultured" person. This was around 1960, before the evolution of a counterculture around the Rock and the Roll. Perhaps the word is not to be shunned now as it was then; then the idea of having a National Cultural Center on the Potomac was about as appealing to educated Washingtonians as a People's Palace of Art and Culture; but the stigma, a bit faded, still remains.

Spokesmen for the Center like to claim that the complex was constructed as a memorial to President Kennedy. This is true in the sense that Congress has been more generous about giving funds to the construction of the building since the name of it was changed, but plans for it were well advanced during the Kennedy administration. The new name was selected only a few days after the President was assassinated, but it is the merest coincidence that he was one of the few Presidents to whom an opera house, concert hall and theater would form a suitable memorial. As a well-meant but absurd gesture of bipartisanship, the theater (which is still under construction) has been named for President Eisenhower.

Nicholas von Hoffman, a controversial columnist for *The Washington Post*, has been making a great stink about the function of the Center, which he maintains is to entertain an elite minority. The management is responding by booking some jazz groups and enough black artists to make the place look integrated. From the initial list, it is clear that they don't want to attract the kind of a rock audience that just might tear the place apart.

This is temporizing. Opera, ballet, symphony concerts and repertory recitals do appeal to a limited audience, and the overwhelming preponderance of the people who attend and perform in them are whites of the middle and upper classes. The question is not whether this is true but whether it is bad. The concert hall seats 2750, the opera house 2165 – not many for a community of a couple of million souls. And for the scheduled events, most tickets are not cheap. So what would be the advantage of broadening the base of operations? Whether it was worth the 45 million taxpayers' dollars that went into the construction, or the million and a half a year that Congress is being asked to supply for its upkeep, may be legiti-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mate points at issue. But opera houses and concert halls are places to have operas and concerts in, and Washington is quite as capable as any city of comparable size of supplying an audience for events appropriate to the house.

The schedule for the first three months has been released, and is pretty much what you would expect in any provincial city. The same traveling salesmen – Isaac Stern, Beverly Sills, that lot – are appearing in Washington as they are in other cities. The National Symphony, which compares favorably with the orchestras in Pittsburgh and Detroit, is lined up to play a judicious mixture of Beethoven, Mozart and less familiar music. This is all "cultural" enough, but except for the details, it is the commercial product, the big-business music, purveyed to the entire nation by a handful of booking agencies in New York. The artists who appear at the Kennedy Center will, in the main, be those who have appeared in Washington before but in different halls. As for the particularly rich and varied local musical life, which has made more than one writer describe it as "the chamber music capital of the world," this will continue as before, most of it outside the Kennedy Center.

The oddest thing about the current American building boom in concert facilities is that it coincides with the rise of a broad-based pop art and a falling off, on the part of musicians and "music lovers" in the old sense of the word, in attending live performances. People who go to concerts now are a somewhat different crowd than those who went to them before the advent of stereo high-fidelity recordings.

For those who do go to performances, some of the new halls are most useful. The Milwaukee Performing Arts Center, for instance – a concert hall, a recital hall and a theater – fills a need for the community. Boston needs an opera house and Washington, in the Kennedy Center, not only has one at last but has a beautiful one in which music sounds good.

But many of the new buildings do not fill any real need and, in that sense, did not have to be built. Neither the new Metropolitan Opera House at Lincoln Center in New York, nor Philharmonic Hall, serve any functions that weren't quite adequately handled by the old Metropolitan and by Carnegie Hall. The relatively new Ford Auditorium in Detroit has bad acoustics, and the brand new Filene Center near Vienna, Virginia, has acoustical problems that remain unsolved at the end of its first season.

The most philistine feature of the building boom is the notion behind it that the edifice itself is a contribution to art and culture, and that what goes on inside it is somehow a matter of indifference. We were all taught as children not to judge a book by its cover. How can we, as adults, be naive enough to assume that a new building consecrated to art is, in fact, going to supply it?

One that very rarely does is the Merriweather Post Pavilion in Columbia, Maryland. The place is an acoustical marvel and, situated as it is between Baltimore and Washington, was meant to attract a symphony audience which, drawn from both cities, should have been large. For whatever reasons, it doesn't. When the place is more than half full for a symphony concert, it is

THE INJURY INDUSTRY
AND THE REMEDY OF NO-FAULT INSURANCE
by Jeffrey O'Connell
foreword by Daniel P. Moynihan
PAPER | $2.95
from your bookseller or
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS
BOX 102 URBANA 61801

"The revolution of the twentieth century can take place only in the United States. And it has already begun."
The book that has sent shock waves across Europe is now published in the country it analyzes so brilliantly—an America that is the only model for global revolution.
WITHOUT MARX OR JESUS
JEAN-FRANÇOIS REVEL Afterword by MARY McCARTHY
at all booksellers now.
DOUBLEDAY

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT EVETT, *former literary editor of* The New Republic *and* The Atlantic, *is a composer.* SAMUEL MCCRACKEN *teaches at Reed College and is a contributing editor of* Change.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LAW AND DISORDER

The Legitimation of Direct Action as an Instrument of Social Policy

Compiled by Samuel I. Shuman

Contributors Justice Tom C. Clark, Ernst van den Haag, Charles V. Hamilton, and Samuel I. Shuman scrutinize the growing use of direct action to express political sentiments. Their concern is primarily with the effects of violent protest on constitutional questions, on the law and law enforcement, and on the whole new colony of problems facing institutions slow to grasp the serious implications of recent upheavals in the United States. *(230 pages)*

order directly from

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Detroit, Michigan 48202
Please send ___ copy/ies of *Law and Disorder* @ $8.95 each

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

considered a good night.

The Post Pavilion is now under the management of a New York firm which has found out that, with rock concerts, you can pack them in, and that with kids you can dispense with the amenities. I recently attended a symphonic program there, and found my seats floating in a pool of vomit which had been left there at a rock matinee that had drawn a crowd of 14,000. The usher told me that they would not clean up the vomit because the vomit-cleaner-upper was not working that day, and added that if I moved to another seat, I might get kicked out.

As for the Kennedy Center, whether it is a boon to the community it serves or whether it is not will depend entirely on what is booked into it. The building is beautiful inside and out, and the halls are acoustically good. The remaining real objection to it is that it is difficult to reach if you park on the street and proceed on foot. If, however, you use the parking garage under the building, you stand a good chance of getting caught in a traffic jam. The transportation problem is serious and evidently insoluble.

Robert Evett

Correspondence

Call from the Wild

Sirs:

Mr. Peter Barnes' article "Summer in the Parks: Watched in the Wild" in *The New Republic*, August 21 and 28, leads one to wonder whether his true concern is Big Brother in the out of doors. Surely he knew that he could not forever keep for private use an enclave located within the boundaries of a national seashore. If Mr. Barnes is the "victim" of eminent domain, then I and other Americans are the beneficiaries of the same action.

In mocking the National Park Service's definition of a soaring crime rate in the parks, Mr. Barnes cites the use of marijuana, camping in undesignated areas, petty theft, and unleashing one's dog or removing one's clothes on a beach. It is implied that such offenses are "for the present, technically illegal but do not interfere with the rights or the property of others."

A more thoughtful person, enjoying the privilege of residence in a national seashore, might realize that some of these seemingly innocuous violations do serious injury not only to the right of all Americans to enjoy their parks, but to the precious parklands themselves. Apparently Mr. Barnes never has been attacked in his own campsite by a Great Dane belonging to another camper. Perhaps he doesn't know that dogs are a major threat to small wild animals which, living near campgrounds, have lost much of their natural wariness. And does he not realize that campers setting up housekeeping in undesignated areas pose an immense threat to the delicate features of nature that make an area desirable as a national park? The essence of the national parks' attraction is not a "sense of ease and tranquility," which a pot smoker can find in his own living room. The attraction is the privilege of enjoying some of nature's greatest works of art.

Dilettantes need not apply.

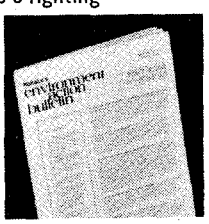
Frankly, environmental "dabblers" won't find much to read in our publication.

We're 'way past the "oh, isn't it awful" stage of discussion about the environment. And we won't waste our space—or your time—with vague generalities or emotional platitudes.

52 weeks a year, Environment Action Bulletin offers a battle plan for activists. It tells you who's fouling up your community. (Yes, it names names.) It reports on who's fighting the polluters. (In case you want to join them.) And it shows you—really shows you!—how you can do something.

In recent issues, our 8-page newsletter has told subscribers:

How to be sure your Congressman reads your letter . . . How to set up a recycling center . . . Which products to avoid buying . . . Six ways to fight pollution in the courts . . . How to get a low-pollution section in your local market.



There's more. For people who want to raise their voices, not their eyebrows. You?

MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

Try EAB for six months at a special introductory rate—20% lower than the regular price. If you're not satisfied at any time during your subscription, we'll refund your money in full.

ENVIRONMENT ACTION BULLETIN
Emmaus, Pa. 18049 EN

Enter my subscription at the special introductory rate of $4 for 26 weekly issues. If not satisfied at any time while I am receiving EAB, I will receive a full refund.

☐ Check or money order enclosed
☐ Bill me

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Starting next week:

A new series of "reconsiderations" of American social classics, beginning with an essay by Robert Coles on *The Varieties of Religious Experience* by William James.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Last year's clashes at Yosemite came about after a group of several hundred hippies occupied a campground several days longer than the provided time limit. There are 200 million Americans and most of them want to go to Yosemite. In order to accommodate those who are able to visit the national parks, a time limit is a necessity.

No one is sadder about the conversion of the ranger corps into a police force than the rangers themselves. Mr. Barnes is correct in that we do need better cities and more open space. But it is one thing to permit nudity and grooving in the grass where the rights and property of others are not endangered, and it is quite another thing to suppose that seemingly minor violations will not accelerate the eventual destruction of nature's beauty and integrity.

Jerry L. Rogers
Associate Director
The Museum of Texas Tech University

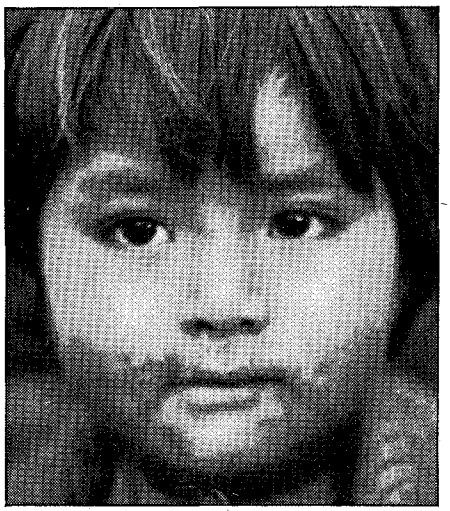
Creative Work

Sirs:

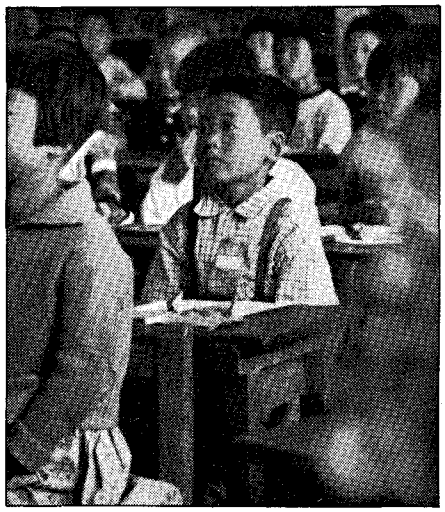
At the risk of being tainted with that most pejorative of epithets, victim of the puritan ethic, I found Colman McCarthy's article ("The Working Stiffs," September 4) limited and distorted, even though it was sheltered by the authority of the psychoanalyst, Karl Abraham, and his convenient classification of serious neuroticism for the workaholic. Mr. McCarthy did not acknowledge the fact that many people enjoy work, that the conventional leisure activities he suggests can be far more tedious than work, and that the free "play" of ideas in one'shead can be infinitely more exhilarating than a game of Monopoly. Certainly any article about work should make distinctions between the creative release of some types of work and the monotonous repetitiousness of other kinds of work. Perhaps the workers of the world had better unite. I, for one, am tired of feeling defensive about liking my work which consists of reading and teaching Shakespeare, Keats, Dickens, Melville and a few other workaholics.

Regina K. Fadiman
Los Angeles, California

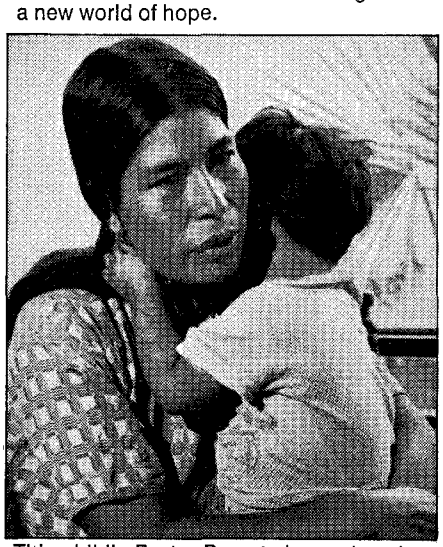
This is why 600,000 people have become Foster Parents.



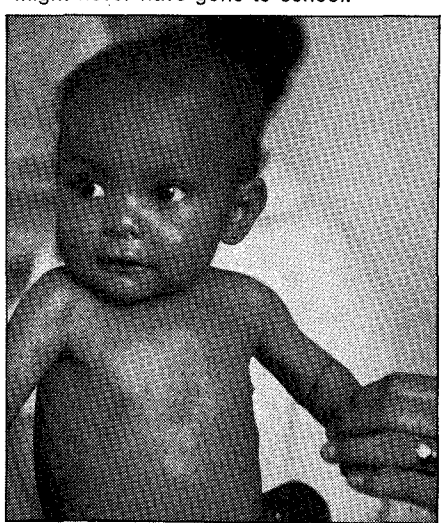
This is Roxanna Diaz. She needs a Foster Parent to save her from a world of hunger and fear. A Foster Parent who can give her a new world of hope.



The Foster Parents of this child know that without their contribution of $16 a month Kang Choong, his brothers and sisters might never have gone to school.



This child's Foster Parents have given her mother someone to turn to for guidance, to teach her a trade and help her escape the endless trap of poverty.



Elana Castilla and her family would probably never see a doctor. Never receive the medical care, health counseling and vitamins they need to survive.

And Chui Mei could never write to say thank you, I love you, to her Foster Parents because her life would never offer her anything to be thankful for.

Foster Parents Plan, Inc.
352 Park Ave. South • N.Y., N.Y. 10010
I want to be a Foster Parent for one year or more of a boy ☐ girl ☐ age___ country_____. No preference ☐. Payment of $16 per month for one year will be made monthly ☐ quarterly ☐ semi-annually ☐ annually ☐. I enclose my first payment $_____.
I would like to receive more information ☐
I want to be a contributor. I enclose $_____ for the General Fund.
Name_____
Address_____
City_____State_____Zip_____Date_____
Make checks payable to Foster Parents Plan, Inc. All contributions are income tax deductible. PLAN operates in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Indonesia, Korea, the Philippines, and Viet Nam. Plan is a non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian, independent organization, registered under No. VFA019 with the Advisory Comm. on Vol. For. Aid of the Agency for Int'l. Development. NR-6-101

Be a Foster Parent. There's a child and his family somewhere who might not make it without you.

When someone somewhere cares, someone somewhere survives.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

scious – the *characters'* self-consciousness: people who, like so many today, do not merely live their lives, they see themselves as characters in novels or films. Much of this dialogue is from Fox, but a good deal has been tempered by Gilroy or is new.

The director's theater experience is apparent and valuable. What he does with his actors within the confines of any one scene, any one take, contributes tremendously to the integrity of the whole. Timing is precise, never hurried, never limp; inflections are sharp; voices and eyes work in relation to other voices and eyes.

In a rather daring move Gilroy has cast Kenneth Mars as the husband. My only previous knowledge of Mars is as the comic Hitler in *The Producers*, not a memory I treasure. But Gilroy obviously knew something that nobody else knew, because Mars produces exactly the right performance, an intelligent man turning sour, which frightens him even as he masochistically enjoys it, a man fighting for a chance to remain decently, creatively cynical. All through the role Mars touches it with tiny sparks of imagination. For instance, he and his wife are discussing a friend called Tanya. Mars says thoughtfully, "I hate Tanya," then clears his throat – *after* he makes the remark! This tiny inversion – another actor might have cleared his throat *just before the line* – turns comic cliché into comic truth.

Shirley MacLaine is the wife, and this is one time when "accrued" persona works against a star. I've never thought much of her abilities and have never thought her very attractive (outside of her first appearance in *The Trouble with Harry*). Even now she doesn't exactly suggest that she's a repository of profound secrets, and her face is not precisely the modern tragic mask, but this is easily the best performance of hers that I've seen. Gilroy has at least put her in touch with reality.

In his one long sequence Gerald O'Loughlin is excellent as the soberly drunken ex-partner who calls at midnight and takes MacLaine out for coffee. As an aging divorcee, Sada Thompson is brittle and barbed and piteous. Jack Somack, her friendly ex-husband, is the one actor who contends with his role a bit; it isn't quite digested.

Gilroy has done a good job of *seeing* his story. His very first shot, under the titles, pulls back from a Brooklyn street to the backs of some houses, then down to the back of our couple's house – one long slow declining arc. Then we see them, but don't hear them, conversing behind a window. (Only street noises through this opening. There are music credits, but I can't remember a note of music.) This first sight of them through the glass, as we are outside watching and not hearing, sets the right opening mood.

Sometimes Gilroy strains: there are too many overhead shots. But he's looked at Hopper paintings and knows how to tell us something about Brooklyn dawn; he's looked at Bergman films and knows how to suspend two people in an agar-agar jelly of deadened love. And he's seen, too, how to make his film re-enforce itself, as when he uses a duplicate composition for irony. The first time we see the couple's pleasant country house, it's on the right side of the screen and, after a moment, they drive in from the left. When we first see their caretaker's dowdy house, it, too, is on the right side of the screen and, again after a moment, the couple drive in from the left. The repetition, with a different, cheaper subject, is a shrewd comment.

The end of the story leaves us where we started, outside their Brooklyn home. A lot of pain has been seen and implied, and is by no means cured, but now it's quiet again. End of the picture, but only an intermission in the drama of the bourgeois.

This is a film of authenticity, of delicately realized intangibles: small-scale about large issues, truthful without settling for honest-to-God TV fact. All the more credit to Gilroy – and to MacLaine, without whom it would probably not have been made – because there was small reason to expect this work from them. I submit, too, that the year that sees two such first films as this and Barbara Loden's *Wanda*, not to mention Fonda's somewhat lesser *The Hired Hand*, is not the year to be despondent about the future of film in this country.

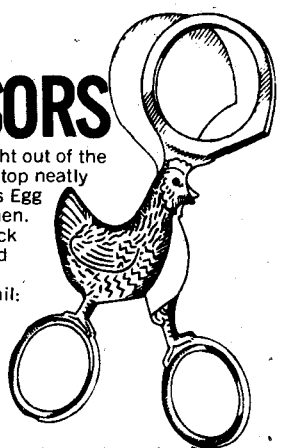
Note. The American Film Institute is sponsoring the preparation of a catalog of American films, including features, short films, and newsreels, from the beginnings to 1970, being published by R. R. Bowker. The first two volumes to appear, under the editorship of Kenneth W. Munden, deal with feature films 1921-1930. Vol. I lists and synopsizes the films, also giving necessary data and cross-references by subject. Vol. II is an index of all people mentioned in Vol. I with their credits for the decade, plus an index of the films by subject. (In that period there were 44 films about amnesia!) Thanks to these books, I know once again the name of the sequel to *Riders of the Purple Sage* – it's *The Rainbow Trail*. My favorite Westerns of, and in, 1925.

The books are $55 the pair and are essential to libraries and specialists, as the whole series promises to be.

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

EGG SCISSORS



Enjoy your egg right out of the shell. Snip off the top neatly with our ingenious Egg Scissors. Golden hen. Silvery wings. Black eyes. Nickel-plated blades. $9. At 28 Hoffritz stores. Mail: 65c pstg. & hndlg. Area sales tax. Credit cards. Send $1 for catalog of 1,510 items.

HOFFRITZ HAS IT
20 Cooper Sq., Dept. NR14, N.Y.C. 10003

Publish Your Book Now!

We publish books in general and special fields to exacting professional standards. Our facilities for editing, book design, printing and binding at a single location cut publishing time in four months! Thirty years of experience create expert promotion. FREE: Send your manuscript for editorial and cost appraisal. Also free: fact-filled brochures on publishing, writing and contracts.

EXPOSITION PRESS
Box 107E, 50 Jericho Turnpike
Jericho, N.Y. 11753

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Personals

FINANCIAL SUPPORT NEEDED for new Negro daily newspaper for New York City. Reply to New Republic Box #4995.

FIVE EASY MASTERPIECES – Miniature (1") pins framing full color reproductions of Rembrandt's "Potentate," Vermeer's "Girl's Head," Hals' "Fool," Duo's "Rembrandt's Mother," Steen's "Oyster Eater." $1.00 each; set, $4.50. IDEA HOUSE, Rye, N.Y. 10580.

LINDSAY '72; Bumperstickers and Buttons – 3/$1.00; P. O. Box 41162, Sacramento, California 95841.

NIXON VOODOO DOLL with hexing equipment, $2.00. World of Witch-Kraft, Box 337, Corte Madera, California 94925.

ASIA

DISPATCH NEWS SERVICE INTERNATIONAL—the agency that broke the Mylai atrocity story, first told of CIA units in China, and first detailed the extent of the air war in Laos – publishes a bi-weekly compilation of stories, features, and articles about Asia. To receive this in-depth coverage send $10 for a years subscription to: DISPATCH, 1826 R St., NW, Washington, DC, 20009

IDEAS FOR SALE – ANY TOPIC. Can afford ad once. Send self-addressed envelope. If liked send $5.00 to Studentsupport Rt. 2, Box 203, Williamsburg, Virginia 23185.

PENFRIENDS. For free information, write: Papyrus, Box 1160NE, Winston-Salem, N.C., 27106.

MCGOVERN '72; materials $1.00, Dartmouth Students for McGovern, Box 725, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755.

HELP AN UNDERPRIVILEGED AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD to remain in school, and have a new friend who needs you. $15 monthly. F.F.C. or telephone 301-652-0536.

ALPHAPHONE® headset – brainwave trainer. Free literature. Aquarius Electronics, Box 627-Q, Mendocino, Ca. 95460.

"THINK GREEN" Posters/Bumperstickers. P.O. Box 178, Rye, New York, 10580.

PRIESTS AND NUNS, need your help NOW. Catholics, Protestants, Jews, ceaselessly petition VATICAN for HUMAN RIGHTS for same regarding MARRIAGE. Keep this advertisement going. Cost $22.20. The DEW DROP QUARTERLY, 25¢. 15 S. Second St., Haines City, Fla. 33844.

"DEFEAT NIXON IN '72"—Bumper stickers; 2/$1.00 (inquire re quantities.) PAXSTATIM, Box N, Lynbrook, N.Y. 11563

WOULD YOU INVEST $1.00
to know *what 'TRUTH' is*
A pragmatic 'truth' wipes out thousands of years of controversy over the question "What is truth?" For a "FORMULA FOR TRUTH" copr;, that will stand up in law, religion, science, and philosophy, send $1.00 to Truthology 619 Central Ave. Albany, N.Y. 12206

RESEARCH, ALL TOPICS. Accurate, prompt. Diener Research, 1034 Novara, San Diego, California 92107, Dept. NR.

METROPOLITAN OPERA POSTERS, Nostalgic, Free Brochure, Fiesta, Arts, Inc., Greenvale, N.Y., 11548.

TRANSLATIONS, any language. Michael Pilorget, 3915 Foster Street, Flint, Michigan 48505.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS without exception. The right of each adult human to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law, without exception. – AAAL, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles 00036.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. $10.00 and sample to Elisabeth King, 41 E. 29th St., New York 10016.

KODACOLOR PRICE-BREAKOUT – Perfect prints, 8 or 12-shot rolls, $2; 20-shot rolls, $3; 36-shot rolls, $5. Money-back guarantee. We pay postage both ways! Send $$ and film; write for mailer. Mystic Color Lab, Box R-144, Mystic, Conn. 06355

MUSKIE 72, bumperstickers 4/$1.00, buttons 5/$1.00. MUSKIE, 375 Buena Vista, Bridgeport, Conn. 06604.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will forms and attorney's information book. $1.50. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1830 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalogue free. Autosuggestion, Box 24 – NR, Olympia, Washington.

"FREEZE NIXON" Bumperstickers, 2/$1.00 sent same day, K. Brown, 4300 W. Ford City Drive, Chicago, 60652.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. Enclose $5.00 with uncopied, unlined paragraph. *Alice Hays Spangler*, 4119 Davis Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

HUMANISM: A non-theistic philosophy for persons of goodwill, who appreciate the scientific viewpoint. Free information. American Humanist Association, Dept. NR, 125 El Camino del Mar, San Francisco, California 94121.

FOR RESEARCH ON STUART DAVIS (1894 – 1964), I would like to hear from those having paintings, drawings, prints, correspondence, or other materials relating to the artist. Robert Hunter, Visiting Research Associate, National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 20560.

McGOVERN buttons, bumperstickers: 3/$1. Special photo button: $1. Mobile: $2. Bulk rates. Proceeds to campaign. McGovern Committee, P.O. Box 472, Vermillion, S.Dak., 57069.

DUMP NIXON '72 large, colorful decal. $1.00 ppd. Box 97, College Park, Md. 20740.

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Box 556N, Ojai, California 93023.

DELIGHTFUL, EDUCATIONAL VACATIONING. Fasting. Reducing. Rejuvenation. Health Education. Peaceful surroundings. Cooperative employment available. SHANGRI-LA, Bonita Springs, Florida 33923 – NR

WHAT'S UP DOWN UNDER – Clearest, most complete, accurate and up-to-date Australia information package, $1.50. Information Bureau Publications, 213 Garden Road, Towson, Md. 21204.

Peace Personals

PEACE CHRISTMAS CARDS, 15/$2.75. Samples 50¢. International McClelland, NR, Beverly Hills 90210.

POSTERS (over 300, many anti-war) BUTTONS (over 175) PATCHES, BUMPERSTICKERS & other peace items. Wholesale & retail. Catalogue with pictures 25¢ (refund 1st order). A BIG LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission St., San Francisco, 94103.

"McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT" Bumperstickers, 5/$1; Buttons, 4/$1; Matchbooks, 50/$1; Emery Boards, 10/$1. McGovern Products, Box 10002, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS, Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Please state intended use for appropriate samples. Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 8551 Page Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

Literature

BACK DATE MAGAZINES: Send needs. Midtown Box 917-NR, Maywood, New Jersey 07607.

FREE BOOK. Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 72, 481 Thurston Road, Rochester, N.Y. 14619.

DRUGS OF ABUSE HANDBOOK. Valid, unbiased. Only 50¢. Write STASH, Dept. P, Beloit, Wisconsin 53511.

THE HUMANIST MANIFESTO. Victory strategy for '72. America needs this book! Send $2.25. Cypress House, Box 217, Miami, Florida, 33156.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF OPEN EDUCATION (Barth & Rathbone) 64 pages, annotated, 265 entries. $1.25 prepaid. Advisory for Open Education, 90 Sherman, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02140 Free catalog.

Authors

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors: publicity, advertising, promotion, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for free manuscript report and detailed booklet. Carlton Press, Dept. RZU 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

HOW TO MAKE MONEY Writing Short Paragraphs. Information Free. Barrett, Dept. C-456-Z, 6216 N. Clark, Chicago, 60626.

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphicopy, Box 285R, Floral Park, N.Y. 11001.

WRITERS – "UNSALABLE" BOOK MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

Schools

SUMMERHILL ORIENTED SCHOOL-Modified free school approach. All academic classes and activities: English, reading, science, music, drama, math, art, crafts, riding, organic gardening, pottery, camping, animals, etc. Freedom with responsibility-Learning because it's exciting, not compulsory. Boarding school (optional weekends at home) 2 hrs. N.Y.C., Ages 6-13. Open Community School, Box 5R, Claverack, New York, 12513 (518) 851-3311.

TEACHING GAMES - Free information from postcard to: Games Central, 55 Wheeler Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138.

COLLEGE ADMISSIONS AND TRANSFERS – Specializing in difficult cases – undergraduates, college transfers, medical, law, veterinarian, graduate, dental. College Admissions Center of N.Y. 102-30 Queens Boulevard, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375 or call "Richard Collins" 212-BR5-2900

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Employment Opportunities

AUSTRALIA! Addresses of over 500 U.S. firms operating in this exciting land – $3.00. Request directory information for other countries: IBA, Box 5528-N, San Mateo, California 94402.

NEW MULTISPECIALTY SALARIED GROUP PRACTICE based in University affiliated teaching hospital has positions still available in Internal Medicine, Family Medicine, Obstetrics-Gynecology and Pediatrics. Applicants must be interested in working with nurse practitioners and serving all socioeconomic groups. Optional opportunity for University appointments and active teaching of house staff and medical students from the University of Rochester School of Medicine and Dentistry. Equal opportunity employer. Contact: Dr. James Tobin, Medical Director, Genesee Medical Group, The Genesee Hospital, 224 Alexander Street, Rochester, New York 14607.

NEW EXCITING REPORT – "How To Get a Job Overseas," 253 pages, $2.00 – International Business Associates, Box 5528-N, San Mateo, California, 94402.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU!!! Government Assisted Passage. 1972 Government Information and Forms – Most Complete Information Available – $1.00. Reports on Employment, Business, Taxes, Education, Teaching, Housing, Ranching, Maps, etc. AUSTCO Box 3623-EE Long Beach, California 90803.

WORK IN DEVELOPING MEXICO. Rapid advancement, negligible taxes, inexpensive entertainment, pleasant living, peace. List of 200 United States, international, Mexican companies. Immigration procedure. $4.00 Infomex, NR 1171, Box 366, Berea, Ohio 44017.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA NEEDS YOU – New 1971 Australian Handbook describing free passage, employment opportunities, business, farming, teaching etc. $1.00. Employment directories: Australian businesses $1.00. U.S. businesses there $1.00. All three $2.00 (550 employers listed.) Buckeye, Box 1032 NX Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

EUROPEAN – FOREIGN EMPLOYMENT – Detailed report on currently available jobs – Europe, Australia, Africa, $3.00. Eurojob Report, Box 52643 – P, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

JOBS! OVERSEAS-U.S.A. Year-round and Summer Jobs. Jobs with Money, Challenge, Opportunity, Travel. All occupations and trades. Write: JOBSCOPE, Box 746, NR, Woodbridge, California 95258.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 942-N, Belmont, California 94002.

Property-Sale/Rent

CANNOT DUPLICATE for price – 4,000 sq. ft., $90,000. Acre, exclusive Virginia suburb. Lease $1,000 month, furnished. (703) 280-2523.

IF YOU LIKE HOT SUMMERS, cold winters, high winds and sandstorms, you'll love 29 Palms, California. My house for sale. Write Vayda, 5656 Mesquite Springs, 29 Palms, Ca. 92277.

GOVERNMENT LANDS . . . Low as $3.50 Acre! Vacationing, Homesteading, Investment! Exclusive "Government Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands available throughout U.S., send $1.00. Surplus Lands, Box 19107-SM, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Vacations/Travel

CHARTER FLIGHT HANDBOOK, 1,100 organization named. Particulars free. TIB, P.O. Box 105n, Kings Park, N.Y. 11754.

AUTO BABYSITTERS. INDOOR parking. Rates LOWER than outdoor airport/pier parking. Pick-up/delivery. Branches throughout NYC, Savoy Garages, 827 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11216 (212) 493-9800.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravLtips, 40-21, JCN, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

Greenery

BONSAI: ZELKOVA NIRE, WIRED, POTTED (CLAY), $25.00, plus $3.00 shipping. Illustrated catalogue 25¢. SAKASHIMAYA, Grahamsville, New York 12740.

Cookery

LEFTY? Or love someone who is? Deluxe kit contains fine cooking tools, each operates easily left-handed. Prices and product details from The Aristera Organization Dept. N4, 9 Rice's Lane, Westport, Conn. 06880.

WINEMAKING KIT . . . $4.98. Free recipes – Catalog. JIMDANDY, Box 30230-XX, Cincinnati, Ohio 45230.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 19, 799 Broadway, NYC 10003.

Ecology

HELP AID ENVIRONMENTAL CRISES, join *Friends for Bikecology*. Help redirect national priorities into human resource programs. Including Bicycling. For program write 1035 East Delaguerra Street, Santa Barbara, California, 93103.

Arts & Crafts

JAPANESE WOODCUT PRINTS. Masterpieces by Sharaku, Utamaro, Hokusai, Hiroshige, etc. New catalogue, fully illustrated with 486 subjects. $6.00. Adachi Institute of Woodcut Prints, CPO Box 362, Tokyo, Japan.

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro. Reasonable. Illustrated catalogue. 50¢. George Kirschner, 90-59 56 Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

MACRAME' PANTS BELT. Create your own wide macrame' belt with good earth materials – natural jute cord, 3" round wood buckle and 4 beads. Complete instructions, plus easy-to-follow actual size pattern. Send $3.50 to Macraniques, Box 717-N, Enon, Ohio, 45323.

APPALACHIAN QUILTS, a quality product, from $25.00 and up. Write Pike County Citizens Association, Box 10, Hellier, Kentucky 41534.

FINE HANDCOLORED ANTIQUARIAN PRINTS after Daumier, Winslow Homer, Hogarth, Rowlandson, others. Hundreds of subjects, including law, medicine, marriage, school, business, baseball, tennis, golf, caricature, photography, ships, American cities, portraits. Catalogs on request. Please mention your special subject interests. Orbis Pictus, Studio 4-D, 150 East 50th, New York, 10022

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 25c. Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

MACRAME KITS. Easily learn ART OF CREATIVE KNOTTING. KITS contain everything needed to quickly create driftwood-mounted WALL HANGING; white TIE BELT, choice of bead colors; SPIRAL NECKLACE, white, navy or light blue cord, color-coordinated beads. INCLUDES step-by-step illustrated instructions, precut cord, deluxe wooden beads, working board, T-pins. State KIT, COLOR preferences. $3.99 each. Three $10.99 POSTPAID. No COD. MEnterprises, PO Box 344, Temple City, California 91780

Sports Equipment

LIGHTWEIGHT BACKPACK AND MOUNTAINEERING EQUIPMENT. *Imported, Domestic* Canoes and Kayaks for day trips, voyageuring, or white-water. Free catalog. MOOR & MOUNTAIN, Dept. 44, Main St., Concord, Mass. 07142.

Records/Tapes

FREE 64 PAGE CATALOG Offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance Baroque and Classical music. Introductory records as low as $1.00 each! All late recordings. In Stereo only. MHS Records, Box 932-NR, New York 10023.

DRUG ABUSE EDUCATION, CRIMINAL JUSTICE, etc. Cassette or reel. Free catalog. Audio Venture, Canaan, N.Y. 12029.

Music

EASY TO PLAY AND MAKE instruments. Thumb Pianos $10, kit $5; Dulcimers now $45 up, kits $18 up; Psalteries, Banjos; Dulcimer book, record; HERE, INC., #N, Box 341, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

HARPSICHORDS with the most beautiful sound, from North America's leading makers. For catalog send 25¢ to: SABATHIL & SON, Dept. 2, 1084 Homer, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

APPALACHIAN DULCIMERS – Handmade. From $40.00. Instructions. Max Wilson, Rt 3, Paoli, Indiana.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) . . . . . 60¢
Per word 6 times in one contract year . . . . . 55¢
Per word 12 times in one contract year . . . . . 50¢
Per word 24 times in one contract year . . . 45¢
Per word 48 times in one contract year . . . 40¢

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Printed by Merkle Press, Inc. Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We may tell you more about yourself than you care to know.

PSYCHOLOGY TODAY is about your hopes. Your fears. Your potentialities. And what science has learned about them.

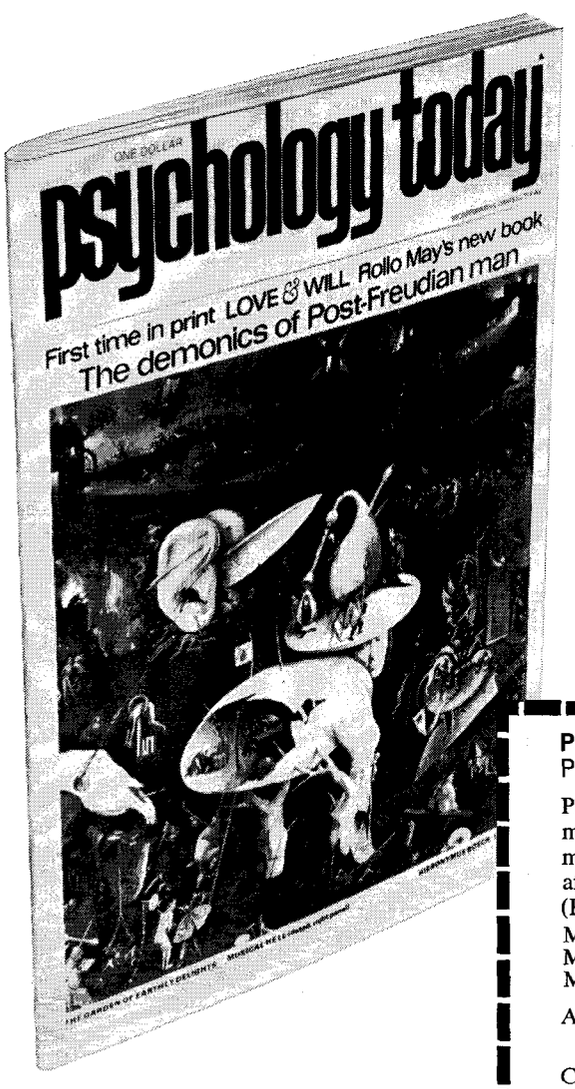
Every month, you'll read in its pages what the world's foremost authorities have to say about the human condition. Men like B. F. Skinner. Rollo May. Ashley Montagu. Harvey Cox. Bruno Bettelheim. These behavioral scientists explain their latest discoveries in clear, straightforward language, without oversimplifications or pseudo-profundities.

Some of their findings are reassuring. Some are alarming. Some just plain fascinating. All of them are a giant step ahead of the kind of psychology you may have picked up in school. Or from your friends who are in analysis.

Where psychological writing all too often tends to narrow the possibilities—reducing almost every impulse to oedipal complexes, guilt feelings or sexual hang-ups—PSYCHOLOGY TODAY has just the opposite attitude. It sees the behavioral sciences as enlarging our possibilities... as endlessly multiplying the choices open to us. Instead of seeing men and women in black and white, PSYCHOLOGY TODAY finds human behavior encouragingly colorful.

In its graphics, PSYCHOLOGY TODAY is a splendid gallery of all the things we've lately learned about the mysteries of perception. Each issue is a visual adventure... an uninhibited collaboration between science and art. Many issues include revealing tests, visual experiments and fold-out games.

Doesn't this sound like a magazine you ought to see? If you agree, we'll be glad to send you a complimentary copy. Just mail the coupon and you'll receive the latest issue.



Among the current and coming articles in PSYCHOLOGY TODAY:

The Grim Generation
Does ESP Exist?
Learning Under Drugs
Is Suicide a Human Right?
Are Leaders Made or Born?
Impulse, Aggression & the Gun
Homosexuality Reconsidered
The Sickness of Corporations
Hiding from Big Brother
Adult Play Therapy
Love & Will
The Mentally Retarded Child
Is Man a Machine?
The Nudity Explosion
Who Will Help in a Crisis?
Dangers of Group Therapy
Are I.Q. Tests Intelligent?
Memory's Molecular Maze
Can We Immunize the Weak?
Nudity in Group Therapy
A Conversation with Masters & Johnson
The White Race and Its Heroes
Breast Feeding

Receive the current issue as a gift and begin a better understanding of your children, your spouse, your boss, your mother-in-law ...yourself. psychology today

PSYCHOLOGY TODAY 6-508
P.O. Box 2990, Boulder, Colorado 80302

Please send me my complimentary current issue of PSYCHOLOGY TODAY. I may keep my sample copy and owe nothing. However, unless I cancel, you may enroll me as a trial subscriber and send me the next 11 issues. Bill me after my subscription has started at a special Introductory rate—just $6.00 (Half the regular $12 annual price).

Mr.
Mrs. _____
Miss (Please Print)

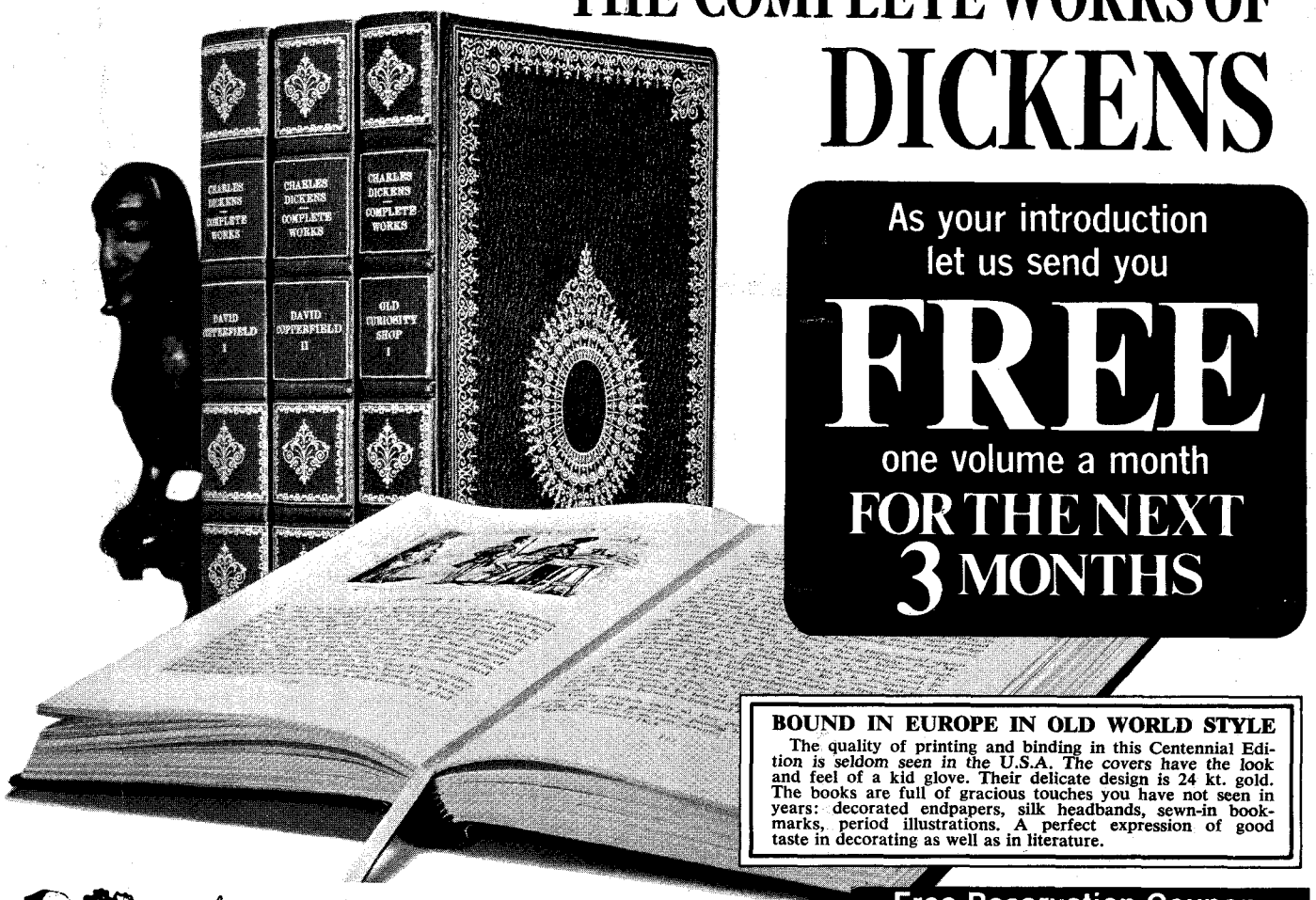
Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

£125,000 ($300,000) and 2 years of loving labour went into this sumptuous Centennial Edition of

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF DICKENS



As your introduction let us send you

FREE

one volume a month

FOR THE NEXT 3 MONTHS

BOUND IN EUROPE IN OLD WORLD STYLE

The quality of printing and binding in this Centennial Edition is seldom seen in the U.S.A. The covers have the look and feel of a kid glove. Their delicate design is 24 kt. gold. The books are full of gracious touches you have not seen in years: decorated endpapers, silk headbands, sewn-in bookmarks, period illustrations. A perfect expression of good taste in decorating as well as in literature.

Now . . . let these unforgettable characters of the world's master story-teller walk into your home.

Let this be your introduction to the most fascinating characters that any writer's genius ever created. The improvident Micawber, always waiting for something to turn up . . . Uriah Heep, the "so very 'umble". . . honest Pegotty endlessly roaming in search of his seduced daughter . . . Sampson and Sarah Brass . . . Quilp . . . and poor little Nell . . . their very names breathe the magic gift of Charles Dickens for creating vivid characters. Every page you read comes alive with real people whom you'll love . . . hate . . . pity . . . and never forget! Now meet them—treasure them in your home—in beautiful books worthy of the genius who created them.

Rich heirloom bindings—classic illustrations

This sumptuous Centennial Edition of the Works of Charles Dickens took Heron Books in England £125,000 and 2 years of loving effort to create. The edition has taken British booklovers by storm, and is now available here at amazingly low cost. With classic-style printing, elegant gold-tooled rich-textured bindings, and the original illustrations of such famous Dickens artists as Cruikshank, "Phiz" and Tenniel, these books are treasures indeed. They will beautify your bookshelves, enrich your home, and delight you, your children, and generations to come—just as their tales have delighted generations past.

But you have to see them, take them in your hands, examine them, to recognize their full value. We therefore make this fantastic offer: *take a volume a month for the next 3 months . . . FREE!* Simply mail the Free Reservation Coupon and discover the superb Centennial Edition without obligating yourself to buy a single book!

Your opportunity to build a beautiful library — at low cost

Let us send you *David Copperfield,* Volume1, and (complete in one volume) Dickens' classic of the French Revolution, *A Tale of Two Cities.* If not delighted, please return them postpaid in 10 days and owe nothing. But if you wish to keep them, *A Tale of Two Cities* is *free:* and for Volume 1 of *David Copperfield* all we ask is the low subscriber price of $3.89 plus shipping. Next month you will receive *Oliver Twist* free plus Volume 2 of *David Copperfield* at the same low subscriber price. But you may return them both in 10 days without charge if you do not want them. In the third month you get Dickens' greatest comedy, *The Pickwick Papers,* in two volumes. To keep them, pay the same low price for Volume 1, and keep Volume 2 as another gift.

From then on we will advise you in advance of every shipment, which you may accept if you wish at the special subscriber price. Each book will be identically printed and bound in Europe to the same high standards. But you will not have to take more than you actually want. You may terminate your subscription any time you decide your collection is as complete as you want it.

Limited Edition—reserve now. Clearly, an edition of this magnificence cannot be produced *en masse.* Our import quota is limited. Should it be over-subscribed, it may take some time before additional sets can be offered. To avoid disappointment, send the Free Reservation Coupon now.

HERON BOOKS, 250 WEST 57th ST., N.Y., N.Y. 10019

Free Reservation Coupon:

HERON BOOKS, 250 West 57th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10019

Please send without obligation your Dickens Centennial Editions of *A Tale of Two Cities* (complete) and *David Copperfield* (vol. 1). If not fully delighted, I may return both books in 10 days and owe nothing. Otherwise I may keep *A Tale of Two Cities* as a gift and pay only the low subscriber price of $3.89 plus shipping for the *David Copperfield* volume.

The next month you will send me volume 2 of *David Copperfield* plus *Oliver Twist* complete in 1 volume. Again, *Oliver Twist* is FREE, and I pay only the low subscriber price for *David Copperfield,* vol. 2. The month after, I get—again on approval—*The Pickwick Papers* complete in 2 volumes. Volume 1 is mine free if I keep the other at the low subscriber price.

Thereafter, for as long as I wish, I'll receive the other matching Centennial Edition volumes which I may return within 10 days or add to my Dickens collection at the same low subscriber price. I may terminate anytime I consider my collection complete. There is no minimum purchase obligation.

☐ **FREE COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL.**

Check here if you are responding in 5 days and we will reward your promptness with this beautiful bronze-finished Dickens Centennial Medal—yours to keep even if you return your books.

SEP 24 1971

Signature _____

Print Name RITTER LIBRARY

Address BALDWIN-WALLACE

City COLLEGE State Zip

FOR CANADA: Return coupon to us. Special arrangements for servicing Canadian subscribers have been made. DJ-160

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED